NRA CODE

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15, 1934 No. 3606

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 169
EDITORIALS:
Hitler Coordinates 172
The Abundance of Scarcity 173
"Second to None" 174
ISSUES AND MEN. HINDENBURG—PATROIT AND TRAITOR. By Oswald Garrison Villard 175
CARTOON: GANG WAR. By LOW 176
WAS EUROPE A SUCCESS? I. THE QUESTION ASKED. By Joseph Wood Krutch 177
THE PROBLEM OF THE GENERAL STRIKE. By Harold J. Laski 179
COMMISSIONER O'RYAN: TERRORIST. By Walter Wilson . 181
COAL PRICE-FIXING IN ST. LOUIS. By Curtis D. MacDougall 183
WHAT DO WOMEN WANT? By Marion B. Cothren 184
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 185
CORRESPONDENCE 185
LABOR AND INDUSTRY:
The Kohler Myth Dies. By Gunnar Mickelsen 187
Your Government Is a Strike-Breaker. By Colston E. Warne and Leo Huberman 188
Labor Notes 190
BOOKS:
Warning to the Good. By Vincent McHugh 192
The Noble Sport of Ballad Hunting. By Constance Rourke . . 192
The Mystery of the Reichstag Fire. By Ludwig Lore 193
Road-Map to Chaos. By Elliott E. Cohen 193
Alexander the Eccentric. By Mary McCarthy 194
Reactions to Our Tariff Policy. By Maxwell S. Stewart . . . 195
Shorter Notices 196
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 196

BOARD OF EDITORS
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
MARGARET MARSHALL MAXWELL S. STEWART
DOROTHY VAN DOREN

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States; to Canada, $5.50; and to other foreign countries, $6.00.

THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1934, by The Nation, Inc.; Oswald Garrison Villard, Publisher.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. British Agent, Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London W. C. 1, England. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

THE CALIFORNIA RED-HUNT continues, although liberals in San Francisco and elsewhere are mobilizing their meager forces to rescue whatever shreds of civil liberty are left. Barring an injection of anti-rabies serum into the veins of William Randolph Hearst, there is apparently not much chance of an early return to sanity. From Carmel, that serene haven of the arts, Ella Winters reports that Langston Hughes, revolutionary Negro poet, has been forced to leave town; that a Citizens' Internal Defense Committee of 200 has been organized to watch the John Reed Club, which can no longer rent a hall for its meetings; that bricks have been thrown into the houses of radical sympathizers in Berkeley, where liberal professors are terrorized with threats of expulsion. Meanwhile a committee of 800 liberals, with Austin Lewis, the veteran labor lawyer, acting as the chairman, has held an open-air protest meeting in Berkeley, and Travers Clement and Lillian Symes, acting for the American Civil Liberties Union, have obtained a number of conservative signatures to a statement protesting against vigilante lawlessness. But two protest meetings called by the Socialist Party were broken up by members of the Teamsters' and Chauffeurs' Union. The American Civil Liberties Union is attempting to launch an investigation of California's white terror on the lines of the Reichstag-fire investigation. Liberals will do well to give prompt and effective support to this enterprise. The California industrial, financial, and publishing interests can scarcely be shamed, but they may be scared if sufficient national publicity is focused upon the sun-kissed State.

THE REACTIONARY VIOLENCE of vigilantes and minute men in San Francisco, Seabrook (New Jersey), and other localities becomes insignificant beside the enormity of reaction just proposed by a New York citizens' association. The New York State Economic Council, claiming a membership of 50,000 taxpayers and headed by Merwin K. Hart, William Breed, and former Attorney General George W. Wickersham, has adopted a program declaring that it favors "withholding from all persons receiving public unemployment relief the right of suffrage during the period in which such relief is being received." (This because the unemployed could by their votes hinder economic recovery.) The program denounces general strikes, prohibits trade unions from requiring members to make contributions to a political fund, refuses State employees the right of belonging to political organizations, prohibits the closed-shop clause in any public-works contract, and urges court injunctions against the use of trade-union funds for the support of illegal strikes. It opposes any form of compulsory health or sickness insurance, any extension of New York's old-age security law, and the ratification by the State Legislature of the federal child-labor amendment. It demands the revision of State pension laws, and provides for a 2 per cent limit on all real-estate taxes. The council has previously opposed the housing bill. Regarding education it says, "Taxpayers are required to furnish elaborate high-school education for 36,000 pupils who can't use it." The council is not the only organization of its kind. The Public Administration Clearing House of Chicago recommends, along with educational and social retrenchment, increased police efficiency. Other organizations of "taxpayers," "investors," and "citizens" are in the field with platforms scarcely less reactionary.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE on Economic and Social Security, appointed on June 29, has finally entered upon its studies. Professor E. E. Witte, of the University of Wisconsin, has been put in charge, under the quaint title of "production manager." The output resulting from these studies, it is expected, will be laid before Congress when it reconvenes next winter. But one must be naively optimistic to hope that the result will be a comprehensive program of social insurance covering unemployment, old age, sickness, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases. In appointing Professor Witte, Secretary Perkins declared that emphasis will be laid on "prevention of economic hazards rather than the care of its victims." "I like to think of our program," the Secretary mused, "as democratic rather than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

socialistic. And it differs from the European method in that we are seeking to prevent social-security hazards. That approach, I believe, is typical of the American mind." Miss Perkins's distinction between "democratic" and "socialistic" procedure is not altogether clear. What is clear is that if it is not possible to plan and order the capitalist economy sufficiently to achieve a minimum security for workers, then cushions of social insurance must be provided to protect wage-earners against the rearings and plungings of our economic machine. Neither alternative is socialistic in any real sense since neither disturbs the base of ownership and control on which the society rests.

WHEN WILLIAM GREEN talks socialism, then the millennium is—right where it was: at the end of a long road of militant labor struggle which Mr. Green, certainly, has done little to hearten and help. But that Mr. Green should, by implication at least, envisage a revolutionary objective for labor is significant to say the least. Mr. Green's tall talk was delivered on the eve of the annual meeting at Atlantic City of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. It followed the publication of the August *Monthly Survey of Business* of the A. F. of L., in which the labor economists showed clearly that industry and banking are jammed in a stalemate; that production per man hour has increased 22.3 per cent since 1929; that profit-motivated business is apparently unable to operate the machinery of production and reemploy our ten million jobless workers. "Will it be necessary for society to take over the means of production?" declaimed Mr. Green. "Will the government be forced, because of industry's failure, to invite the eager and willing workers to march into the idle shops and throw the levers of the machines that will again pour out the endless amount of goods our people require? . . . Whatever may come, labor will stand on the side of complete utilization of our productive capacities. . . ." Does this mean that Mr. Green stands on the side of the militant, radical rank-and-file blocs in the unions which are trying to wrest control from the hands of Mr. Green's reactionary lieutenants and march toward precisely the objective Mr. Green indicates? Scarcely that. But Mr. Green has heard murmurs from the grass roots. He has answered with big words. The day may not be far off when he will be forced to match these words with deeds.

HOW MANY PERSONS on relief rolls are unemployable because of age or infirmity and are likely to be permanently dependent upon some type of public assistance? To obtain an answer to this question the FERA will send out 2,600 investigators into 800 industrial centers throughout the country, and for the first time we shall have reasonably approximate census data showing the total of the industrially halt, lame, and blind. The findings of this study will be turned over to the President's Committee on Economic Security now mapping out a legislative program. Carrington Gill, assistant administrator in charge of the study, is tough-mindedly ready for the worst. The findings, he is reported to have predicted, will probably be "a terrific shock to the nation." They will disclose, he is said to expect, that even a return of prosperity will not wipe the relief rolls sufficiently clear to warrant stopping future federal aid. That the FERA should devote itself to gathering data of this kind and that proposals for legislation may be expected is good news. Still more valuable would be a study of the problem of how many of the 10,000,000 currently unemployed will ever get their jobs back, assuming the return of prosperity. How many of the able-bodied and the young among the working population must the government reckon with as a permanent army of unemployed?

AFTER FIVE YEARS spent in wrecking America's school system by implacable demands for "economy," for smaller school budgets, for lower teachers' salaries, for larger classes—demands which have reduced our annual school expenditures from $2,250,000,000 in 1929 to a prospective expenditure this year of $1,750,000,000 and have closed entirely about 1,000 schools—American business has suddenly sprung to the rescue of that high, pure thing, education. The sudden change of heart, however, is not mysterious. The business men, especially the manufacturers of building materials and of school equipment, such as desks, pencils, typewriters, and the like, had it called to their attention by the school administrators that the "school is America's biggest business," and that the loss of markets consequent upon jettisoning the school system was costing them more in profits than they could hope to save in taxes. Accordingly they allied themselves with school officials in organizing a campaign to revitalize education—or at least the market for school supplies, which is perhaps not quite the same thing. The opening move will be the first National Schoolmart and Schoolview to be held from August 15 to 24 in New York City's Port Authority Building, the former consisting of exhibitions by book publishers, pencil manufacturers, typewriter manufacturers, motion-picture manufacturers, and so forth, and the latter being round-table conferences on problems of school administration and maintenance. Since PWA grants of federal funds have already "primed the pump" of school construction—the first quarter of 1934 showed a gain of 700 per cent over the same period last year—the movement may well be successful; one of its incidental by-products may be a little more money for teachers and even a little more education of a sort for children. This last seems not quite business-like. Why the children? And why the teachers? Unless, carrying commercial logic to its extreme application, the teachers teach the children to destroy the desks, books, and buildings, thus creating business for the suppliers.

BY THE TIME these words appear in print, the National Labor Relations Board may be hearing the case of John Donovan versus General Johnson and Gustav Peck. Following a conference last week with representatives of the NRA Employees' Union, and after the union representatives had agreed to abide by the board's decision, the board fixed August 6 as the date for a public hearing. General Johnson, however, has not yet indicated whether or not he is willing to be bound by such a determination; and the matter must remain unsettled until he returns to Washington. It is hardly likely that the General will draw back. If he does so, he will stand publicly revealed not only as animated by an anti-union bias but also as possessed of a conviction of guilt. The hearing before the board will probably be confined to the narrow issue: Was Donovan discharged because he was "incompetent" and "insubordinate," as Johnson and Peck allege? Or was he let out to penalize him for his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

activities as president of an aggressive labor organization, as his fellow union members maintain? Nevertheless, as readers of *The Nation* must be aware, the true issue is much more complex than this. The Labor Advisory Board has stood by, supine, while the NRA has done nothing to bring the benefits of collective bargaining to the vast bulk of America's unorganized workers. Donovan (like Silverman, who still remains suspended) was a gadfly who tried to stir the board into performing its most essential function. His effort, so it appears, vexed the board's trade-union members, because it embarrassed them in driving their private bargains with the NRA. And the board not only refused to protest against Donovan's discharge, but on two separate occasions has refused even to review the circumstances of the case.

THREE CONTROVERSIES heard by the National Labor Relations Board last week involve fundamental issues of collective bargaining within the meaning of Section 7-a. As soon as rulings are forthcoming on these issues, the public will have a clear idea of the board's theory of industrial relations and will be able to contrast it for better or worse with that evolved by the Wagner board. In the case of the Houde Engineering Company of Buffalo, New York, the United Automobile Workers' Federal Union No. 18839 won an election of representatives for collective bargaining by a vote of two to one. The union maintains that it is now the exclusive agent of the employees; the employer denies this contention. We have here the principle of majority rule which the old board upheld in the Denver Tramway and Real Silk of Indianapolis decisions. In the case of the National Aniline and Chemical Company, also of Buffalo, the employer does not deny the representative character of the union, but refuses to execute a collective agreement. In a previous ruling on the same case the old board held that the employer was obliged to enter into a bilateral contract with the recognized representatives of the workers. In the Tamaqua, Pennsylvania, Underwear Company case the employer has seemingly entered into a closed-shop agreement with a company union. Specifically, the by-laws of the Tamaqua Underwear Employees' Association permit the union to recommend to the management for discharge any worker who is "inharmonious." On this ground the management has refused employment to a number of workers who are members of Local No. 133 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The old board never had occasion to rule formally on a similar dispute. It may be noted, nevertheless, that a closed-shop, company-union policy was at the bottom of the Milwaukee Electric Light and Railway case, in which the board brought about the removal of the Blue Eagle because of the company's discharge of eight trade-union workers.

IT IS NOW the advertising agencies, those stalwart defenders of the good, the true, and the beautiful, which present themselves to the NRA for codification. Their proposed code probably marks high water in pious hypocrisy and sanctimonious pretense. They suggest that the agents themselves, the advertising media, and the advertisers confer for the purpose of working out safeguards against false and misleading advertising. (They have in fact been conferring for over a year with the object of beating the Tugwell bill and all attempts to establish government grading.) They suggest also that it be made the high crime of unfair competition for one agent to bid away the employee of another agent without first consulting the worker's present boss. The copy writers and the commercial artists will certainly be pleased by this solicitude of their masters, who would attempt to regulate the labor market on a plane of transcendental morality. But the bosses would also protect themselves against temptation. They suggest that it be considered unfair competition for any agent to split part of his commission with the advertiser. It will be interesting to observe the reactions of the Labor Advisory Board to the proposal that the advertising agents restrain themselves from making a brisk market for their hired hands.

ON THE SURFACE prospects for peace in Europe appear hardly brighter than they did twenty years ago. But the realization on the part of European statesmen that any international conflict may within a few months turn into a class war militates against an outbreak of hostilities in the near future. Both Italy and Germany are ruled by minority governments. The Fascists have successfully driven all opposition underground, but this does not mean that the Socialists and Communists have disappeared. In 1921, the year previous to the March on Rome, the Socialists were by far the strongest element in the Italian Parliament. They held 173 seats, 86 more than their nearest rivals, the Liberal-Democrats, and 145 more than the the Fascisti, who held only 28 seats. A similar situation existed in Germany before the Hitler revolution. In 1930 there was 13,500,000 German Socialists and Communists, more than double the number of Nazis. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini is so obtuse as to think that these masses of organized, class-conscious workers have been completely wiped out. A war would without doubt arouse them to open revolt. In France the government cannot possibly ignore the potential power of the Socialists and Communists, who have joined to combat their common enemies—war and fascism. In England the Labor Party threatens a general strike if it becomes necessary to prevent England's participation in any armed conflict. In time of war the general strike might easily be a forerunner of revolution. European statesmen also know that in the event of a proletarian uprising Soviet Russia would have to be reckoned with. Fear of revolution may not prevent war in Europe, for Hitler, despite his protestations, would doubtless stop at nothing in a final effort to preserve his regime. But other governments will proceed cautiously.

THE NATION takes pleasure in announcing that with this week's issue Maxwell S. Stewart, formerly with the Research Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association, joins the staff as associate editor. Mr. Stewart brings with him a wide knowledge of economic and international affairs. He spent a number of years in the East, where he taught in the Shanghai American School and in the Yenching University in Peiping. Leaving China in the fall of 1930, he spent the next eight months in Russia. He has twice since revisited the U. S. S. R. Mr. Stewart's writing for the Foreign Policy Association has been chiefly economic. He is the author of several of the association's reports on such subjects as the Administration's monetary policy, war debts, and tariff bargaining, and he has also written on these and kindred subjects for *The Nation*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hitler Coordinates

IN his recent communication to Dr. Frick, Reich Minister of the Interior, Adolf Hitler declared that "all authority of the state must proceed from the people and by them must be ratified in free, secret election." Therefore the plebiscite of August 19. The "Leader Chancellor" predicates his claim to the dual office he now holds on the assumption that the nation will stand unanimously behind the National Socialist regime. The coming elections will doubtless make good his boast. One hopes, to be sure, that the events of June 30 and the total collapse of the Nazi national economy will double the number of dissenting votes cast in the last Reichstag election, but it would be futile to expect more than that. Goebbels, in his capacity as election commissar, has already declared that no effort will be spared to poll a 100 per cent pro-Hitler vote, from which one may safely conclude that the next two weeks will outdo all previous campaigns in the use of both propaganda and terrorist methods.

Americans do not realize how little the German reader of the National Socialist press knows of what is happening in the Reich. Today, five weeks after Hitler's day of reckoning, he has only the vaguest idea who were its victims. The first official announcement told of Röhm's execution and that of eight other SA leaders; later the public in Germany learned of the death of Schleicher and his wife. What others belonged to the seventy-seven dead admitted by Hitler, the average German can only guess. No German paper has thus far reported the shooting of Gregor Strasser, of Bredow, of the former Bavarian Minister President von Kahr. The death of Minsterial Director Dr. Klausener became known through announcements and obituaries in the Catholic press from which every indication of the way in which he met his death was deleted. Now that all foreign newspapers in the German language are forbidden in the Reich, the German citizen must take a trip abroad to find out what is happening in his fatherland. Even the death of President Hindenburg came as a complete surprise to the nation. Eight days before the end there was a peremptory denial of the report of his serious illness. Two weeks before, Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry had forbidden newspapers and publications to discuss the possibility of a change in national leadership or the question of the presidency as an institution in the Third Reich. This prohibition was repeated when Hindenburg's death was announced. When an official communique finally informed the press of the new state of affairs it came with the suggestion that "no editorial comment be made until the *Führer* himself presents his version of the new order to the people."

These conditions make it difficult to estimate the reaction of public opinion to Hitler's latest departure. Is Hitler still master of the powers he invokes? How strong are the forces working for his overthrow?

One may accept as proved that the forces representing the industrialists and the Reichswehr demanded and won the reduction and reorganization of the SA detachments. The June 30 massacre gained Hitler the official support of the Reichswehr generals; this much is certain, since under no other circumstances would it have been possible to bind the official army by personal oath of allegiance to Hitler. He who knows the meaning of German discipline will appreciate the significance of the individual pledge which holds every last man in the Reichswehr, the navy, the state police, and the SS detachments to the Chancellor's personal service. The SA, on the other hand, has lost its significance as an independent instrument of power. It continues to serve as a defense against proletarian opposition, but the dominant position it used to hold by virtue of numbers and special privilege is gone. Today it is no longer feared and hated by the Reichswehr as the competitor of the official army. Cooperation has taken the place of distrust and rivalry. What Hitler and his associates lost on the one hand they gained on the other. Sentiment among the industrialists, who were beginning to regard the Third Reich with a coldly critical eye, is friendly once more. By sacrificing their importunate radicals, the National Socialist rulers have gained the support of those elements which hated and feared the growing power of the proletarian SA.

To a great extent this explains the boldness of Hitler's assumption of presidential power. General von Blomberg admits to negotiations between Hitler and the Reichswehr. A similar understanding with the heavy industries undoubtedly exists; the Minister of the Interior spent the last days of Hindenburg's illness in the Rhineland in conference with prominent industrialists. Two months ago Krupp von Bohlen explained his resignation as chief of the Nazi captains of industry by citing the fact that German industry had moved to the right. Since then Hitler's economic policies have moved so definitely in the same direction that nothing stands in the way of their renewed cooperation.

His conquest of the Reichswehr and the return to his camp of the nation's industrialists are Hitler's present assets and explain, in large measure, the boldness of his assumption of presidential power. But serious liabilities also exist. There is the monarchist opposition which, now that Hitler has made himself nominal as well as actual head of the Reich with the power to appoint his own successor, will move from secret to open opposition. There is tremendous and growing sentiment among former republicans for a constitutional monarchy with liberal leanings, on the basis that "anything is better than Hitler." The government is fully aware of this menacing development and will stamp out monarchist propaganda as ruthlessly as it crushed the Marxist opposition. It is not generally known that Prince Auwi, the ex-Kaiser's dull-witted son, until recently one of the most prominently displayed of Nazi leaders, was charged with treason and that only the intervention of General von Fritsch, the man who saved Papen from certain death, prevented the execution of a deportation order against all the Hohenzollern princes. In addition, the Communists and Socialists find new hope and courage in the disintegration of the Storm Troop detachments. When Hitler came to power, these parties sent Red Front and Reichsbanner fighters into the SA ranks. Hitler's anti-labor policies furnished fruitful soil for their propaganda. Never has "boring from within" been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more successful. Recognition of the class-strugle idea has permeated elements never before touched by radical teachings.

Revolutionary labor will not be first to profit by a Nazi overthrow, but economic developments are moving so rapidly in the direction of a complete collapse of capitalist dictatorship that one may look into the future with an optimism that would have seemed frivolous six months ago. Germany's finances, particularly since Hjalmar Schacht has to all intents and purposes replaced the more staid and less adventurous Dr. Schmitt as Minister of Economics, will go from bad to worse. It is not likely that this man whose financial policies have suffered such unexampled defeats will acquit himself with greater credit in unraveling the tangled web of Germany's industrial and commercial affairs.

In its foreign relations Hitler's regime has been no more fortunate. Time after time it has overplayed its hand; and each apparent advantage has left it more alone, more isolated than before. Since the Austrian interlude its fascist stepbrother, Italy, has turned abruptly in the direction of France, and the old Entente—France, Italy, and Great Britain—is preparing once more to consolidate its hegemony on the continent. German fascism is slipping. Hitler may equip himself with every outward symbol of power in the gift of the nation, but he will not escape his fate.

The Abundance of Scarcity

A FEW months ago Secretary Tugwell, with his appointment hanging fire in the Senate, was suavely telling his inquisitors that far from being the farthest left of the Brain Trust, he was a "conservative." But the required majority in Congress for which the Administration is now campaigning won't be elected by conservative votes, and in his radio speech on August 1 Mr. Tugwell wasn't wooing any of them. Instead he denounced his critics as "Tories" and "reactionary obscurantists."

Mr. Tugwell's emotion seemed genuine enough, and in the following passage he came close to forthrightness:

> We felt that with industrial America controlling its production in order to maintain profitable prices, with absolute indifference to the fate of the millions who depend upon industry for a livelihood, agricultural America could not survive without corresponding measures of readjustment and self-control. We felt that under the old order America had become, economically, a house divided against itself, which could not stand unless it became all of one thing or all of the other. Either industry must prefer abundance to scarcity or it would compel agriculture to prefer scarcity to abundance.

One could scarcely ask for a clearer statement of the Veblenian opposition between business and industry; between the full use of the means of production, both industrial and agricultural, which alone could materialize our as yet hypothetical "economy of abundance," and the "sabotage" of production by profit-dictated restrictions. While remarking that "there are undoubtedly many who believe that not the farmer but the business system is at fault," Mr. Tugwell attempted to justify the scarcity-promotion measures of the Administration as temporary expedients "which could be modified or abandoned as industry attuned itself to an economy of abundance."

The last phrase is meaningless. Industry shows every intention of continuing to attune itself to the necessities of the profit system by restricting output "with absolute indifference to the fate of the millions," and agriculture under the direction of the AAA has attuned itself similarly although with compunction, manifested in the Adminstration's agricultural relief measures and in the FERA. But government, no less than industry, has promoted not abundance but scarcity. That, as Mr. Tugwell explains, was the mandate the Administration received from the people:

> We are living in a democracy and we know that the American people have given no mandate for the abandonment of our traditional business system. . . . It [the authority given] was to readjust relationships among our old institutions, to overhaul them . . . to make them work if they could be made to work . . . to modify them when they failed to function, and to demonstrate by the old method of trial and error which of these institutions could be readjusted to the new economic environment of the post-war world. . . .

It was a difficult mandate. Almost, Mr. Tugwell seems to be confessing, an impossible mandate. But for this much of frankness we should give thanks. It is Mr. Tugwell's farthest left.

Almost coincidentally with Mr. Tugwell's speech there appeared the August issue of the *New Outlook*, containing an article by Robert R. Doane, research director of the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity, entitled Is It a Surplus Economy? By the too simple device of opposing an estimated consumption requirement against the 1929 peak production of industry and agriculture, Mr. Doane arrives at the correct conclusion that in 1929 we had a deficiency of twenty-seven billion pounds of milk, as well as heavy deficiencies of meats, tomatoes, vegetables, and other agricultural products, with only a few surpluses such as flour and sugar. But it does not in the least follow, as Mr. Doane appears to believe, that the means of production were then or are now inadequate to produce an economy of abundance if utilized to their full capacity.

Mr. Doane was promptly taken to task by his superior, Harold Loeb, director of the survey and author of "Life in a Technocracy," who pointed out that "if our farmers had a market in which to dispose of their products they could supply all the milk required in a few years and the meat in at most two."

The most flagrant example of Dr. Doane's statistical irresponsibility was his statement that although our housing necessities required the building of 2,000,000 houses a year, our capacity, owing to limitations of transport and construction technology, is only 200,000 houses a year. It is a matter of record that in the year 1928 we built more than 700,000 houses; with profit restrictions eliminated we could certainly build at least three times that number.

In searching for an explanation of this nonsense, we discover that Mr. Doane is author of "The Measurement of American Wealth," and coauthor, with Virgil Jordan, president of the Industrial Conference Board, of "The American Consumer Market." It may be unjust to judge Mr. Doane

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the company he keeps. But certainly the National Industrial Conference Board is not giving Mr. Doane or anybody else a mandate to recognize, or even speculate about, an economy of abundance operating outside the profit system. The editorial writers of the New York *Times* are similarly inhibited. In commenting on Mr. Loeb's rebuttal of Mr. Doane the *Times* remarks sagely, "Buying power is merely another name for income, and our national income, in its broadest sense, is merely another name for our national production." One doubts that the *Times* can be as innocent as all that. The survey that Mr. Doane and Mr. Loeb are fighting about was a survey of *potential* productive capacity, and obviously our national income under the profit system is no measure of the potential productivity of industry under a system of production for use.

"Second to None"

THIS is the new slogan of the militarists: "An air force second to none." It has just been voiced simultaneously in the United States and Great Britain, while France with its determination to hold its supremacy in the air will also not be content with a force second to that of anyone else. That Hitler and Göring are demanding equality in arms everybody knows. And Mussolini? He knows very well that Italy's future lies not on the sea but in the air; and he announced on May 26 the increase and renovation of his flying forces. That is why he has backed such ventures as that of General Balbo to the United States. So we face the fact that the United States, England, France, Germany, and Italy are all determined to have an air force "second to none." The United States, if Congress heeds the voices of Assistant Secretary of War Woodring and General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, will be "second to none in quantity of planes, pilots, and morale within two years." That is a big undertaking, and it considerably exceeds the program of the Aviation Committee headed by the ex-pacifist Newton D. Baker, which demanded on July 22 a ten-year building program to give us in that time a force of 2,320 planes. But Harry Woodring and Douglas MacArthur are quicker on the trigger. They will save eight years of precious time. They admit before all the world that of our 1,500 planes "many are obsolescent, some in stations for survey before salvage, while more than half of the remainder are regarded as unfit for combat duty"—this after all the millions squandered upon them! The 2,320 up-to-date planes in two years are to be a *minimum*.

Well, of course, if we are to have an air fleet second to none, that figure is the purest guesswork. Here is Great Britain announcing through the voices of its Air Minister and its Acting Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, that its present air force of 850 fighting planes is to be doubled at once—1,650 airplanes is the present goal. Mr. Baldwin, who has repeatedly warned the world that "our civilization will not survive if another great war comes," made this startling announcement of a vast geographical change in Great Britain: "Since the days of the air, the old frontiers have gone and when you think of the defenses of England you no longer think of the chalk cliffs of Dover. You think of the Rhine. That is where today our frontier lies." But while the new British frontier may be the Rhine, the immediate objective of the British Air Ministry is the air fleet of France. Its front-line planes today number 1,650, in addition to which it has, however, 1,350 other reserve or second-line planes. When Messrs. Woodring and MacArthur discover this, will they not inist on 3,000 American airplanes in two years? They must—if we are to be "second to none." True, Secretary Swanson suggests a reduction of 276 planes in his original plan to build 2,184 planes, but his present goal of 1,910 planes still represents a great increase even if it is below the treaty provisions for this country.

More than that, France is not standing still. True, the Paris press sees nothing wrong with Great Britain's building up its front-line fleet to equal France's, but at the same time it does not conceal the fact that just before its recent adjournment the French Parliament, despite the colossal budgetary deficit, voted the vast sum of 980,000,000 francs to increase further its front-line air forces—almost exactly one-fifth of the tribute it had to pay to Germany after the Franco-Prussian war. This being second to none is a difficult, if not an impossible, game! For the other fellows refuse to stand still but go on building just when you think you have caught up with them.

Here at home there is only one dissenting voice—that of the stormy petrel of aviation, General William Mitchell, former head of our army's air force. Most unkindly he denounced the Baker report and declared that "the only reason to build 2,300 airplanes is to feed hungry contractors. It's not the number of planes that counts, but their efficiency." He added that 400 completely modern aircraft would be adequate for our national defense and declared that "one modern airship could cause the evacuation of New York City and three could demoralize and destroy Japan." That in turn recalls the statement in "Hitler Over Europe," by Ernst Henri, that one of the new type German airplanes will carry, besides its terrible load of bombs, gun-turrets for two twenty millimeter automatic-firing guns and a conning tower armed with machine-guns enabling it to fight off enemies coming from all directions. He also declares that Germany can produce 20,000 such airships in a single year—Messrs. Woodring and MacArthur please take notice!

Under the circumstances, we have an important and constructive suggestion to make. Let us have another international conference at once to fix just what constitutes "second to none." Why not have an agreement that the United States, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan, and Great Britain shall fix the minimum force that they all want. Conferences to set maximums have invariably failed. Let us have a majority vote as to whether the minimum for each nation shall be 2,300 airplanes or 3,500, and then let every nation agree to impoverish its taxpayers to that extent. Then all will be on an equality; there will be no rivalry; everybody will be second to none, and regular replacements can also be assured by treaty agreement. And such a treaty should also provide that anybody, like our pestiferous General Mitchell, who dares to question, in any country, the wisdom of this arrangement or the need of the number of airplanes arrived at shall be put in jail for ten years. Anyone mad enough to suggest that the countries which sign this treaty would be just as well off if they all agreed to have no airplanes and to save the cost of each fleet will, on being found guilty, be publicly drawn and quartered.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

Hindenburg—Patriot and Traitor

THAT Hindenburg will rapidly grow into a German saga goes almost without saying. He will doubtless be endowed as the years pass with more and more virtues and talents which he never possessed; that is the way which history has with the most successful destroyers of their fellow-men. In Hindenburg's case the process of attributing to him superhuman qualities began with his first extraordinary winning of fame in the war; and it must be said that few men have had a more astonishing career, or one that lent itself more readily to portrayal as that of a great hero, a superb titanic figure, Jovian in his power to hurl thunderbolts at the enemy and to crush him. Nothing could have been more unexpected or dramatic than the winning of Tannenberg and the battles of the Masurian lakes. Four weeks before Hindenburg was a forgotten, retired general in Hanover with his uniform so threadbare that when the unexpected call came to him to report for active duty in Berlin, he was ashamed to put that uniform on. That he, nearly sixty-seven years old, would be asked to command a group of armies and assume the supreme task of driving back the Russians who were advancing so rapidly into East Prussia, he could not have imagined when he took the train to Berlin. The sole reason for it was that he had for some years commanded in the invaded region and knew it well.

By September, 1914, he appeared a veritable military genius. But long ago the partisans of Von François, Ludendorff, and Hoffmann, the dictator of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, began disputing Hindenburg's honors by insisting that their particular hero furnished the brains as well as the strategy for the emergency. That Ludendorff deserved a lot of the credit is indisputable—Hindenburg was soon dominated by him—but there are numerous writers who are profoundly impressed by the part played by General Hoffmann, Ludendorff's right-hand man. Hindenburg was himself later defeated at Augustowo, although deemed by that time to be quite invincible. From September, 1914, on Hindenburg was the great German war god. He overshadowed the Kaiser and all his generals. But the fact undoubtedly is that the Field Marshall was a dull, routinized commander blessed only with the luck to pick, or to have assigned to him, some men of great, or passing, merit and with the readiness to accept their decisions. It is also obvious that when he and Ludendorff were transferred to the western front, Ludendorff came more and more to be looked upon as the real commander, showed himself utterly unequal to the task, and both failed. Hindenburg never seems to have lost his nerve and yielded to panic as did the younger man, but that may be because he was less sensitive, duller-witted, and more the rigid Prussian general of the old school.

At any rate, while Ludendorff smashed his own reputation, that of Hindenburg remained untarnished in the eyes of the German people. After the war, even in retirement, he seemed to them colossal, Gibraltar-like, in days when his associates and his caste were scurrying to their holes, when many bubble reputations besides Ludendorff's burst over night. He remained dignified and aloof. He had no vision of the future; he offered no leadership. The move to nominate him for the presidency did not originate with him. But his successive elections seemed to give stability to a situation already gravely menaced. While the liberal forces everywhere witnessed his first election with alarm, he agreeably disappointed them. He seemed loyal to the republic; he *was* loyal to it until he finally yielded to Hitler. He appeared, indeed, entirely praiseworthy in his support of men and institutions to which he was by instinct, inheritance, life-long training, and his caste loyalties utterly opposed. It is a profound pity that he did not die in 1930 or 1931.

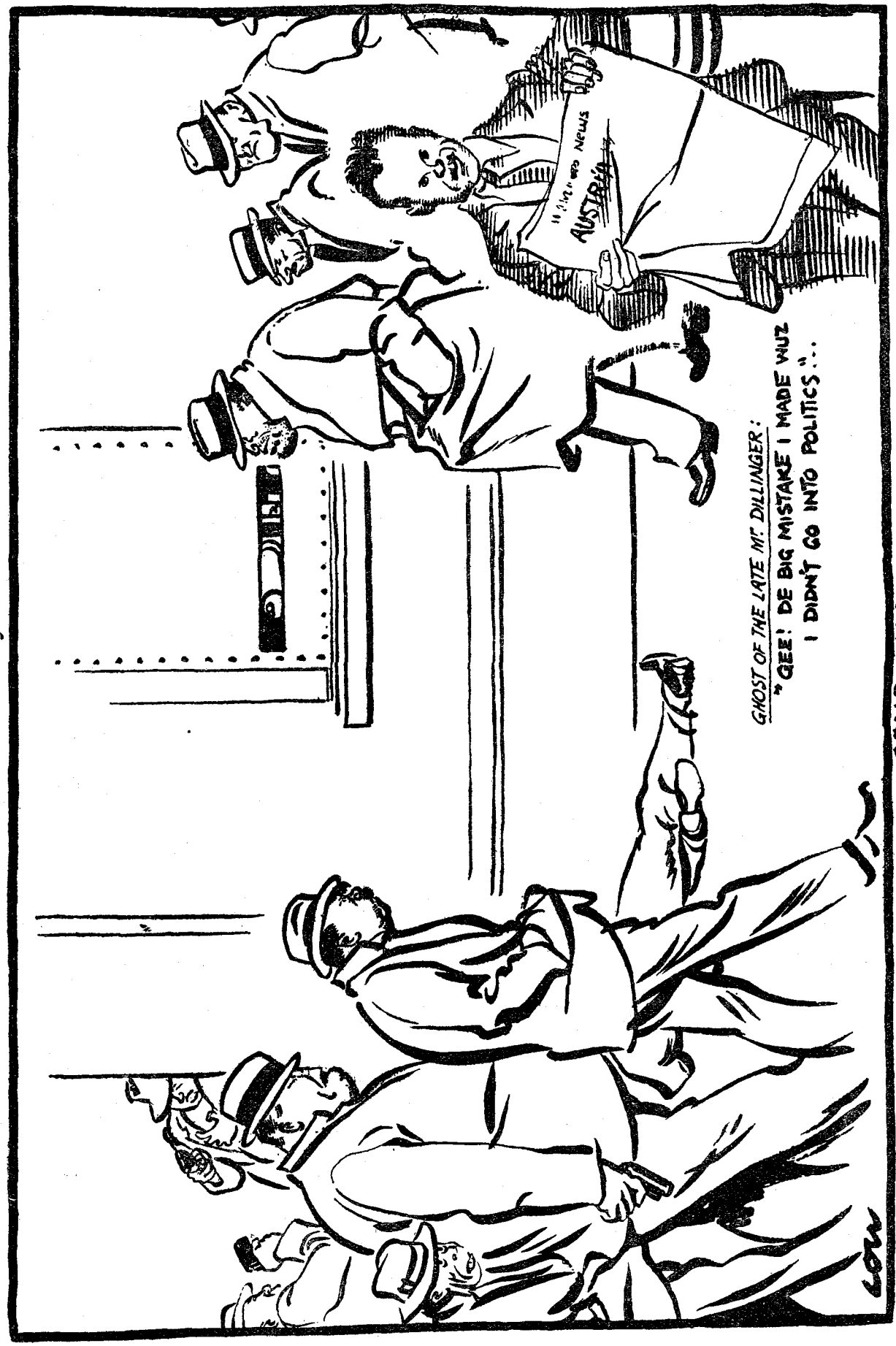
For then he would have appeared as a true patriot who lived up to his sacred oath of office. But the rest of the story is sordid indeed. It has recently been set forth in detail in "The Berlin Diaries." He sold himself for the estate at Neudeck, which was not presented to him by a grateful nation, as is alleged, but by a group of money-bags and Prussian Junkers who wished to make him more than ever one of themselves. They were successful in large degree because of the influence of his son over him; and the old Field Marshall even cheated the tax-gatherers by having the estate put in his son's name so that there should be no inheritance tax to pay. One gets in this period more and more the impression of a limited, confused mentality trying hard to know what it was all about politically and more and more being influenced by those immediately about him.

Just how normal Hindenburg's mind has been during the last two years we shall doubtless not know for some time, if ever. Berlin has been, of course, filled with rumors and stories like that which credited him with saying after reviewing thousands upon thousands of Hitler's Storm Troopers: "I did not know we still had so many Russian prisoners in Germany!" It must be admitted that there have been few cases in history—Franz Joseph in 1914 is another—where decisions of such great importance were forced upon a man as "far gone in years." His absolute reversal of his former position, his base and traitorous destruction of the republic, his abject surrender of his country and countrymen to the tender mercies of Hitler and his allies, the great business men of Germany, were probably due to other wills than his own. In November, 1932, he declared that he would not appoint Hitler because, in his own words: "I fear that a Presidential Cabinet led by Herr Hitler would inevitably develop into a party dictatorship with the evil result of intensifying still more the dissensions within the German nation, and I cannot answer to my oath and my conscience for taking such a step." Three months later conscience and oath went by the board. By Hindenburg's own act, Germany's darkest day dawned.

Oswald Garrison Villard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Cartoon by LOW



Copyright by the Inter-Europa Press.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Was Europe a Success?

I. The Question Asked

By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IN an essay published some years ago M. Paul Valéry pointed his trembling finger at a map of the world and called attention to the fact that Europe is—from the standpoint of geography—merely a rather small promontory upon the vast and mysterious continent of Asia. He then went on to marvel at the predominant part which the inhabitants of this restricted area had played in the history of mankind, and expressed a fear lest its civilization should succumb in no very distant future to the merely numerical strength of those who are alien to it.

M. Valéry seemed to have no doubt as to the intrinsic worth of what his tiny fragment of mankind had accomplished. Though mere life had gone on in many other parts of the globe, it was, so he seemed to imply, useless to suppose that this could mean very much to the kind of creature which Europe had produced and of which he himself was a typical specimen. The human spirit which he knew and loved was something which could exist only in the civilization which Europe had produced, and the destruction of that civilization would mean the destruction of the only thing which he and his fellows could regard as humanity.

Doubtless the possibilities of man as a biological organism are almost infinitely varied. Doubtless that organism can survive and even flourish under an almost infinite variety of conditions. But humanity as Europe knows it cannot be imagined apart from the social order which Europe has created, the sensibilities which European art has developed, and the realm of thought which European philosophy has set in order. To the taxonomist a Hottentot or a Malay may be a representative of the species *Homo sapiens*. But he is not man as man was conceived of by Descartes, and neither is he part of that humanity which Roman law proposed to save in this world and the Roman church proposed to save in the next.

Now M. Valéry is a fashionable intellectual. There is in his writing a tinge, at least, of preciosity, and a tendency to attribute to what he calls "civilization" a certain hothouse delicacy which may perhaps belong to himself alone. Yet the fact remains that he seems here to have felt, well in advance of less delicately poised intellects, a situation which has become rapidly clearer since his essay was written. For nothing is more characteristic of much contemporary thought than its tendency to be literally "radical," that is to say, to carry its criticism on to a point where it becomes, not a criticism of certain defects or maladjustments of society, but by implication at least a criticism of the whole complex of institutions, traditions, and standards of value which M. Valéry includes within the meaning of the term "Europe"—and which is, indeed, almost exactly what is now more often referred to as "bourgeois civilization."

Most of those who make the all-inclusive criticism did not begin with anything so sweeping and many of them do not realize even now just how far its implications carry them. For the most part they began with a revulsion against some specific ugliness or some specific injustice, and discovered only after they set about to remedy it that it had its roots in a general political or economic situation. As a result of this discovery they developed from crusaders against some specific phenomenon into critics of the social order, and then, by a similar process, from "reformers" of the sort they now despise into "revolutionists" ready to make a clean sweep of the familiar institutions of government. Nor is even this all, for though many would doubtless have preferred to stop there at last, neither experience nor the criticism of their opponents would permit them to do so. Presently it began to appear possible that the social order is itself bound up either with human nature or at least with the whole psychology of the creature whose history from the rise of the Greek state to the Western Europe of today we are inclined to identify with the history of humanity. Hence the political revolutionary sometimes finds himself the enemy, not merely of government as we know it, but also of man as we know him.

More concretely, your revolutionist is usually one who began by desiring either that others should enjoy his advantages or, if he happened to be himself one of the dispossessed, that he and the others like him should share in the richer life of the more fortunate. What he wanted was essentially that all should enjoy both the material goods and the culture of the favored few. But by now he has come, whether rightly or wrongly, to conclude that anything of the sort is impossible, and he has been driven therefore to the necessity of believing that it would not even be desirable. If collectivism destroys the culture which it once planned to distribute, if what the "European" called liberty, individuality, sensitiveness are incompatible with it, then the answer is that these things are neither genuine nor desirable but are, instead, the poison and delusion of the bourgeois world. Hence the full success of the Russian project, for example, depends not only on a new form of government but also on both the destruction of "European" culture and the creation of a new man.

It involves, in other words, the end of things which M. Valéry regarded as identical with Western humanity itself, a beginning anew with the materials furnished by the human organism, and the start of a line of development which cannot possibly long continue to maintain any sort of contact with European history. The new man, if he ever actually came into existence, would be really new, taxonomically a mere variety of *Homo sapiens*, but no more than the ancient Mayan man identical with the man of European philosophy or poetry. No one can guess what his potentialities will be; they may be far richer than any we have developed. But not even the most ardent of his now living protagonists—since they are really only the last of the old line—can hope to be able to understand him.

To think of things in terms of these ultimate possibili-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties has the advantage of clearing the air and establishing a fundamental basis upon which the distinction may be made between a real conservative and a real radical. No one, to be sure, can say with certainty that a *via media* is impossible, and it may be that "Europe" can be saved while the political and economic basis upon which it rests is changed. But it is obvious that none can be sure that this *is* possible, and the most aggressive proponents of change are sure that it is not. One must therefore be prepared to take one's stand on the one side or the other, to say, in effect: "I am a conservative because nothing except man as I know him is worth saving," or "I am a radical because I am willing to embark upon the adventure which may consist in destroying the man I know and beginning a new line of psychological as well as economic and political development."

Stated in these terms the issue is both clearer and more fundamental than that which is commonly drawn between the various schools of political opinion, and the failure of persons equally anxious for "a better world" to agree on doctrine or tactics is usually due to the unrecognized importance of their diverse estimates of the value of the European heritage. Behind the impatience of the champions of a new beginning and behind the caution of those liberals who hesitate to abandon too quickly or too completely certain accustomed ways, lies the willingness of the one to cut loose from the European soul as well as the European political system and the fear of the other that certain achievements of that soul—unique in the general history of mankind—will not easily be duplicated. Hence what the Marxian likes to term his opponent's "stake in capitalism" is not, as he prefers to imply, necessarily no more than his stake in material things or his accumulation of a hypothetical "security." It is a stake in a culture—something which includes not merely a way of life and a heritage of philosophy and art but the very sensibilities and forms of thought which made that heritage possible.

When a conservative, reluctant to jeopardize that stake, considers the "mass" art and thought of Russia, it may seem to him that, so far at least, it is actually not very different from the mass art which has frequently existed side by side with higher products in previous civilizations—that, despite a new terminology, its uncritical enthusiasm, its quasi-religious faith, its utilitarian emphasis, its stress on the common denominator, and its impatience with refinements perceptible only to cultivated sensibilities are merely the defects characteristic of thought and expression in any crude society. He might, accordingly, be inclined to suppose that the future would see a development similar to that which once took place in modern Europe, and that the art of a new collectivist society would emerge from its middle ages into a renaissance and, finally, into a modern phase, each stage being not essentially different from that which Europe knew. But he is forbidden by the more extreme radicals themselves to believe any such thing. According to them, collectivist thought and collectivist expression are to separate themselves more and more clearly from anything known in the past. What, to the bourgeois observer, seem their present defects are not defects at all but the beginnings of new virtues which he cannot appreciate, unsatisfactory only because artists and thinkers have not yet been able to free themselves wholly from European habits of thought and feeling.

Thus by the insistence of the radicals themselves one is brought back to the fundamental question of the worth of the whole complex associated with European political institutions and declared to be incompatible with a revolutionary as opposed to a continuous development of them. By the revolutionists themselves we are forbidden to suppose that only our material possessions—if we happen to have any—are threatened, or that—if we have none—there is "nothing to lose but our chains." Something else is threatened, and that something we may agree to designate by the convenient word "Europe." Is it, or was it, something so precious that the first question to ask of any proposed change is the question whether or not that change would put it in danger; or was it something so obviously defective that we may wisely take our chance of making something worse in our earnest endeavor to make something better? Was Europe a success?

If our question were so limited as to apply only to achievements in certain fields, then it would admit of only one answer. Despite the fact that we are still too much a part of Europe to achieve any adequate detachment, we are probably right in supposing that the man which Europe produced realized more of his potentialities than did the man developed in any other portion of the globe. All things considered, it is probably true that European thought and European art are superior to all others, and that the European man has been the most successful in exploring that realm of consciousness which appears to be exclusively human. Something in his institutions has favored his tendency to achieve ends which the animals cannot even conceive, and of all the cultures, the culture of Europe is probably the one which has produced the smallest amount of that suffering and cruelty which are the by-products of all civilization. It is, in fine, impossible not to share M. Valéry's admiring amazement when he considers his little peninsula, and it is impossible not to conclude that on it man has succeeded in being a more remarkable creature than he has succeeded in being in any other part of the globe. No other culture which we know anything about seems (to our perhaps prejudiced judgment) to exhibit a comparable richness or variety or to favor the existence of so flexible a creature.

And yet even Europe's success is less than moderate if judged by any standards other than those of historical comparison. There is no one of its achievements which was not accompanied by events so ghastly that whole schools of philosophers have wondered if civilization itself was not a mistake and if the "noble savage" was not more to be envied than the heir to Europe's culture. The mere outward order which law and habit establish was achieved only through a system which arbitrarily distributed wealth and power in a manner condemning the mass of every population to hardship and want, while every other human achievement was bought at a price. Not only did chivalry bring slaughter, and religion bring persecution, but the very cultivation of intellect and beauty always implied their cultivation at the expense of thousands shut out from the enjoyment of the arts or even the comfort of adequate goods. Only a fundamental pessimist could maintain that, in any absolute sense, Europe was a success, because to proclaim it as such is to accept as inevitable the fact that misery shall be the natural lot of most men at most times.

The Athenian accepted slavery because he did not see how the good things of the Greek civilization could be achieved

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

without it, and Europe has always accepted an essentially similar attitude, not merely in regard to the political and economic subjugation of its population but in regard to the more general fact that the cost of every civilized institution is tremendous. Indeed, its boasted spirituality—its tendency to put honor and loyalty above material profit, its emphasis upon the beauty of its poems in contradistinction to the ugliness of its history, and that pride in the nobility of its cathedrals which disregards the brutality of the age which produced them—is merely an aspect of its pessimism. It is based upon the assumption that such intangible triumphs are possible only at the cost of tangible failures, and that the noblest humanity is the humanity which recognizes the fact. But it is surely only when measured by these by-products that Europe is a success, and it is less to the historian than to the poet, the artist, or the mystic that it can seem to be such. No failure could be more utter than the failure which culminated in the World War, and it may seem hard to believe that anyone could insist without irony upon the necessity of saving that civilization.

The one certain thing is that Europe's "success" was by no means absolute, that no one has a right to regard it with mere complacency, and that our original question now tends to divide itself into two. How important—or perhaps how real—were the triumphs, and to what extent must others like them be purchased at the price which Europe paid?

[*This is the first of a series of articles by Mr. Krutch. The Question Considered will appear next week.*]

The Problem of the General Strike

By HAROLD J. LASKI

London, July 20

WHAT is really significant in the San Francisco strike for an English observer is less the passionate events to which it gave birth than the implications it involves. It throws a clear light not only on the Roosevelt experiment, but also upon the nature of the state itself; and its significance will have been wholly missed unless the latter implication is fully emphasized.

It is, of course, important that the San Francisco trade unions were fighting against employers as reactionary as any in the United States. But that is rather a detail which has exacerbated an inevitable struggle than one which has been the primary cause of its precipitation. Everyone knows that modern industry cannot be equitably conducted upon the principles of the open shop; as Mr. Justice Holmes said in his famous dissent in Coppage versus Kansas, liberty of contract begins where equality of bargaining power begins, and without a full recognition of trade unionism the industrial workman is in fact the slave of the employer. So that the dockers of San Francisco have been contending for the most elementary principles involved in the modern industrial relation. To fail to secure it is to make any attempt at organization devoid of meaning. Without collective bargaining there can be no effective protection of the worker's interest.

That was the underlying thesis of Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act. It emphasized the legal right of the workers, if they so wished, to bargain for their conditions of labor through the medium of trade unions. The failure of the Roosevelt Administration to secure the admission of the principle is one of the gravest weaknesses in its record. In coal, in steel, in automobiles (most notably in the case of Mr. Ford), its attitude has made it clear that the workers must count upon their own strength to implement the right granted to them by statute. The government will cajole and threaten; it will speak those winged words which remain in the impalpable air so long as they are not supported by action. But wherever the employers choose deliberately to evade the implications of the law, the government does not move seriously to its enforcement.

This is surely a case when not to act is to act decisively. A right offered on paper, however solemn its statutory form, is not a right realized in action. A government which leaves employers free to evade statutory obligations is in fact conniving at their evasion. It is leaving fundamental issues to the realm of private conflict and declaring either its powerlessness or its unwillingness to bring them within the realm of law. It therefore leaves the workers with the choice between fighting for their rights or accepting the defeat which the sabotage of Section 7-a by the employers makes the only alternative. And it leaves them with that choice in the background of the knowledge that each such successful piece of sabotage is an encouragement to employers in other industries to further sabotage of the same kind. From this angle, for the workers to accept defeat is the same thing as acquiescing themselves in the sabotage of the law.

A general strike is, of course, something more than a threat to a particular set of employers. It involves, by its very nature, the whole of the community involved within its ambit. It is a stark weapon which seeks to paralyze that continuity of services which is the heart of the modern governmental process. The government, clearly, has an elementary duty so to act as to assure the threatened continuity, since without it the life of the community is jeopardized.

But anyone who examines what happened in San Francisco cannot help a sense of amazement at the implications of the governmental process. The workers' right to strike is beyond legal challenge; and the workers' right to strike to enforce legal rights conferred upon them by act of Congress cannot be questioned by anyone who accepts the principles of constitutional government. In a conflict such as this, a government which claimed impartiality between capital and labor would really have no choice. It would decide that the source of the trouble lay with those who refused to accept the law. It would declare that the employers at the San Francisco docks, by refusing to accept Section 7-a, were the responsible authors of the threat to continuity of service, and move directly against them.

That is not, significantly, what occurred. Under pretext of maintaining law and order, the government set out to assure the continuity of essential services. It drafted troops, machine-guns, and all the implements of modern warfare into San Francisco to protect what it called "the commu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nity." It knew that such protection meant, and could only mean, in effect, nullifying the effort of the strikers to obtain their end. It knew that so long as essential service continued, no pressure on the employers was likely to be successful. It did not inquire into the incidence of fault; it assumed, indeed, that this had no relevance to the dispute. It took up an attitude which could only have the result of placing all the coercive authority of government on the side of the employers. It insisted, in a word, that what law had given to the unions of San Francisco they might only obtain by persuasion of the employers. Once that persuasion received the "sanction" of a general strike, the government, which had done nothing to uphold the majesty of law, moved over to the side of the employers. It called this acting in the name of the community. By refusing to consider the relevance of the causes of the dispute as something which should determine its action, the government offered the employers the full protection of the state in their fight to evade their obligation to the law.

The implication is, I think, a clear one. The nature of the state in a capitalist society compels the government to be the servant of the vested interests in that society. For in the performance of its function as the guardian of law and order what, in fact, it is bound to do is to protect capitalist law and capitalist order. Once the instruments of production are in private hands, the government must protect those which are essential to the life of the community; and to protect them, under these circumstances, means the use of its coercive authority to protect that private ownership regardless of the circumstances under which that private ownership is exercised. Those, accordingly, who challenge any one of those circumstances, even if, as with the strikers in San Francisco, they are seeking to realize a right conferred upon them by the law, are bound to meet the state as an instrument upon the side of their opponents.

That, after all, is the situation we confronted in the British general strike of 1926. The case of the miners was not as strong as that of the San Francisco dockers; for the former were not implementing a right conferred upon them by law. So soon as their fellow-workers came to their aid, they confronted not the owners of property but the state, which, acting in the name of the community, was in fact making the interest of the "community" identical with the interest of the mine-owners. The British general strike was defeated because no body of men can challenge a government without having the means at their disposal successfully to overthrow it. Once we assume that the community demands the continued functioning of essential services; once, further, we assume that the ownership of those essential services may legitimately be left in private hands, it is clear that the function of government becomes the protection of private ownership. To attack the latter is necessarily to challenge the government. No such challenge can be maintained in constitutional terms. A general strike, in a word, must logically become more than a general strike if it seeks the full attainment of its objective. That, I think, was the obvious implication of the British experience.

I believe that it is bound to be the lesson of American experience as well. It is hopeless to expect the state to be neutral in a capitalist society; for the postulates upon which it acts prevent, a priori, the possibility of neutral action. If it be said that the object of the San Francisco strikers was merely to obtain the recognition of a legal right, the answer is, I think, the inescapable one that the manner of obtaining it comes into direct conflict with the fundamental law of capitalist society, namely, that under a system of private ownership in the means of production it is the legal right of the owner to do what he wills with his own. And since the life of the society will depend upon the owner's ability to act in this way, the government will find itself compelled to support that ability to the full extent of its powers.

These, at any rate, are the realities of which the political theorist must take account. He cannot, given the terms of the equation, regard the state as above the battle, concerned only with the attainment of maximum social good. The state, in operative fact, is a body of men who, in the America of 1934, are concerned to attain maximum social good within the terms of the system they administer. Part of that good is assumed to be the maintenance of essential social services. Once these are in private hands, the state power is behind them because, in a crisis, it deals with a system in being and not with the assumptions upon which the system is based. In a crisis it does not inquire whether, granted the assumptions, maximum social good is in fact attainable. It acts as the protector of the status quo.

Those, therefore, who seek to use a general strike as a weapon in conflicts of this kind must realize that the power of the state is bound to be utilized against them unless, in the course of their effort, they can change the nature of the state. This they can only do under two conditions: (1) they may transform a general strike into a revolutionary act in which they themselves become the government and are therefore able, by the exercise of the new authority they thus attain, to alter the assumptions upon which the society rests; or (2) they may be able, within the existing framework of law, by reason of the public opinion they are able to evoke on their side, to obtain emergency action in their favor upon the particular issue for which they have struck.

It is obvious that the first condition has no application to the situation in San Francisco. It was not the purpose of the strikers; it would have met with little or no support from American public opinion in general. The second condition seems to me, on analogous experience outside the United States, not less unlikely. For (1) a government which has not accorded the recognition of a legal right claimed in terms of reason is not likely to accord it under the threat that a general strike involves; (2) the psychological effect of any general strike which is not revolutionary in purpose is to deflect attention away from the central issue in dispute to the challenge to law and order of which I have spoken. The effect is to unify the interests of private property, which sees in the success of such a strike a general threat to its security, and, after the first enthusiasm, to weaken the solidarity of labor, which depends upon rapidity of success for its own well-being, and has no visible and direct relation to the declared objectives of the strike. The employers, in short, under the position which a general strike creates, have only to wait in order to count upon the government coming to their aid. Once that occurs, the injection of the political aspect into the issue means that the strikers are bound to be beaten unless they take up the political aspect. But this they cannot do without changing the objectives of the struggle. For to take up that political aspect is to embark on the path of revolution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commissioner O'Ryan: Terrorist

By WALTER WILSON

PROTESTS from citizens of New York are flooding the desks of the Police Commissioner, Major General John Francis O'Ryan, and of Mayor LaGuardia. These protests are occasioned by police brutalities —clubbings of demonstrators, including bystanders, men, women, and children; the ruthless suppression of picketing of taxi drivers, bakery workers, and other strikers; and brutality against individuals not connected with any labor disturbances. Hardly a day passes but that one sees headlines in the metropolitan press dealing with police brutalities. Here is an example taken from the *World-Telegram* of July 13 which reads: "Police Brutality Caused Stillbirth Says Mother, Charging She Was Beaten During Relief Riot."

Police Commissioner O'Ryan surely is acquainted with and responsible for what goes on in his department. What has his attitude been toward these abuses? Let him speak for himself. In a letter to Relief Commissioner Hodson which was quoted in the New York *Times* of June 12, Mr. O'Ryan said: "We have already placed on trial several policemen for failure to use all the force at their disposal and necessary for the purpose of suppressing violence, and charges will be prepared against any officer of the department who fails to act promptly and effectively in such instances." Violence to him means strikes, picketing, demonstrating. "I don't believe in times of emergency in letting crowds collect," he said during the New York taxi strike (New York *Times,* April 10).

The Police Commissioner has just organized a special militarized unit of 1,200 picked men, a sort of military police corps. The *Herald Tribune* on July 29 gave two full columns to this important event. Its headline read: "Ryan Arms Rifle Division to Quell Riots." The subhead was: "Machine Guns Included in Police Unit of 1,200 Designed for Service in Labor Disturbances." The news story which followed said in part: "The personnel, it is understood, has been selected from men interested in military tactics or with military training or war experience. Mr. O'Ryan, himself commander of the Twenty-seventh Division during the World War, has displayed tendencies ever since he took office last January to turn the Police Department into a highly trained military unit." The story continued: "Although no accompanying explanation was issued with the organization order, and Mr. O'Ryan . . . would make no statement other than that the regiment's purpose was 'to increase the efficiency of the force,' it was learned at headquarters that Mr. O'Ryan had contemplated the move for some time in anticipation of any labor trouble which might break out in New York."

Mr. O'Ryan gave an inconsistent denial in the New York *Times* of July 31 that the new organization had any connection with anticipated major labor disturbances in the New York area. In the same denial he said that the unit would be a good protective measure and would be likely to command respect from any group of agitators "as soon as they appeared on the scene" of disorder.

What kind of man is this who has begun his term of office with a record of sanctioning brutality and who now aspires to be commander-in-chief of America's first completely militarized police force? Who is this man who points with pride to his military training? What was that training?

In 1919 Commissioner O'Ryan, then a major general, was appointed by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, as one of the four members of the so-called Kernan Board which investigated charges made by returning soldiers against the administration of justice in the army, especially in the American Expeditionary Force. Literally thousands of soldiers testified to the arrogance and brutality exhibited toward the enlisted personnel of the army by the officer caste. They charged that a strict, senseless, goose-stepping discipline was maintained in the army, not only during the war, but long after the armistice; that there was an unjust, autocratic system of military justice, administered solely by officers (it has been estimated that there were 375,000 courts-martial during the year prior to the armistice in an army averaging 2,000,000 men); privates were given twenty-five years at hard labor for being absent without leave for a few days (such cases occurred after the armistice) or for talking back to an officer. Several were given terms at hard labor for appearing at mess and inspection, months after November 11, 1918, with a button missing or a collar unfastened. The third degree was generously used in many of the above cases.

The places where the offenders had to serve these hard-labor sentences were literally the "chain gangs of the A.E.F." There beatings with fists and blackjacks drove some of the inmates to suicide. Prison guards admitted that everything charged was true; one sergeant testified at his court-martial trial that he personally beat up over a hundred men. They all said that the brutalities had been ordered from higher up—a general or two being implicated but never tried. Several minor officers including the infamous "Hard-boiled" Lieutenant Smith, in charge of Prison Farm Number 2 outside Paris, were court-martialed and given light sentences. It was brought out that the purpose of these inhumanities was to discipline the army and that many innocent men were sent to the prisons without trial. Ninety per cent of the prisoners had seen service at the front and many had been wounded.

This was the situation the Kernan Board, of which Major General O'Ryan was a member, was to investigate. What did O'Ryan and the other three members think about the "justice" dealt out to the private soldier in the war? They found, and their findings are a matter of public record, that the system of military justice in use in the American army during the World War had virtues seldom found in human institutions, and in effect that the enlisted man got what was coming to him; that terrorism was necessary to maintain discipline; that military justice was not to be judged by ideas of natural or ordinary legal justice and that the justice or injustice of it did not matter; that military justice cannot be regulated by law but must be left to the supreme

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

authority of the military commander; that the military caste and not Congress has the supreme authority over the citizen-soldier and that Congress should be ignored if it attempted to exercise such authority.

These findings were not a complete surprise to some of the military associates of the board members. The man with the most experience and information about military justice, Brigadier General Samuel T. Ansell, Acting Judge Advocate General during the entire period of the war and a former professor of military law at West Point, testifying before a Senate committee, said of them: "Of course, I know these gentlemen rather well—their personalities, their habits of thought, and something of their views with respect to the military establishment. If the Secretary of War had gone out deliberately to appoint the most reactionary set of men in the United States he could not have improved upon his selection—Major General Kernan, Major General O'Ryan, Lieutenant Colonel Barrows, and Lieutenant Colonel Ogden." In *The Nation* for December 27, 1919, General Ansell again referred to the personnel of the Kernan Board: "Consisting of two regular army officers of high rank, one national army officer 'militarized' . . . and a national guard major general [General O'Ryan, of course] dependent for his success, if not his place, upon the good graces of the War Department."

Commenting upon the board's report Mr. Ansell said: "I think we all anticipated that this report would be a reactionary one, largely sustaining the present system; nobody, even on the other side, anticipated that it would be as reactionary as it is. . . . Does not the whole report proceed upon the predicate that we get discipline through terrorism?"

The Kernan Board was not the first committee appointed by the War Department to investigate the enlisted men's charges. The department first appointed a committee from the American Bar Association to do the job. Critics charged at the time that this committee and its witnesses were handpicked so as to present only the ultra-militarist viewpoint. However, in the midst of its hearings the chairman of the Bar Association committee suddenly announced that he had been converted and that he would find that the system of military justice in use in the American army was autocratic and unjust and should be thoroughly rooted out. Soon after this announcement we have the strange coincidence of the War Department's picking a strictly military committee to do the same job the Bar Association committee was to do as impartial investigators. There would seem some justification for the charges of critics who said that the Kernan Board was appointed to do a whitewashing job.

J. B. W. Gardiner, a graduate of West Point and former instructor of law there, wrote a letter to Senator James W. Wadsworth on September 11, 1919, in which he spoke of Mr. O'Ryan: "Because of the kingly origin of our military conception, we have come to regard military discipline as resting very largely upon fear, and the club which engenders this fear is the court-martial. That this is true is shown by the testimony of Major General O'Ryan given but recently before your committee. . . ."

The testimony Mr. Gardiner refers to was given by our present Police Commissioner in 1919 before a Senate committee hearing on "a bill to establish military justice."

Testifying before this committee Mr. O'Ryan said that the Kernan Board report expressed his views on the army and military justice. He repeated his stand for terrorism for the purpose of maintaining discipline when he said: "The object of courts in an army, especially during time of war, is mainly to deter the mass of the soldiers from the commission of offenses which have brought some of the soldiers to trial."

But even with a court-martial system over which he was the king, judge, jury, and supreme court, as the commander of a division, O'Ryan was not satisfied. He used another kind of terrorism. Men who went AWOL or committed minor offenses like petty theft while the army was at the front were arbitrarily punished, not by imprisonment or by reprimand, but by being sent to the most dangerous points in the first-line trenches. This is a part of the terrorism advocated and practiced by General O'Ryan which Mr. Gardiner refers to in his letter to Senator Wadsworth.

It should be kept in mind that it was amply proved in the controversy over the system of military justice in the World War that the court-martial system operates to maintain discipline and not to get facts and to deal out justice. Whether innocent or guilty some enlisted men had to be sacrificed in order to "deter" others who might be tempted to go AWOL. As has been shown by the foremost authorities on military law, Ansell, Runcie, Morgan, and others, the enlisted men had an impossible task of proving innocence or mitigating circumstances after charges had been preferred against them by an officer. We know for a certainty that many men who went through the A. E. F. chain-gang mill were innocent. Many of them were subsequently given honorable discharges with character marked excellent. Might not the same thing have occurred in the divisions whose officers made it a practice of arbitrarily sending enlisted offenders to almost certain death in the front-line trenches?

Senator Chamberlain asked General O'Ryan if he thought enlisted men should be allowed their rights as citizens to jury service and be allowed on courts-martial when in the army. Mr. O'Ryan showed his contempt for the rank-and-file soldier by his reply:

"Frankly, I do not, Senator . . . I have a firm conviction that that thing is wholly impracticable and undesirable in the army. . . . I think it is one of the most interesting things about the development of any army to note the change that takes place in the personnel . . . they [enlisted men] become in a measure children . . . so their efficiency to serve as jurors would be adversely affected, due to the narrow life that they necessarily lead."

This is a partial picture of John Francis O'Ryan, former commander of the New York National Guard, commander of the Twenty-seventh Division in the World War with rank of Major General, who was appointed Police Commissioner of New York City by a liberal mayor. This is the man who is the supreme commander of a force of 1,200 military police which was organized recently in the expectation that New York was about to experience important strikes. Recent news indicates that such strikes are imminent, especially in the construction field. What the Commissioner's views and activities will be in such an event can be seen by his attitude toward strikes and demonstrations since his installation. In the controversy with Mayor LaGuardia which arose when the Commissioner wanted to use even more force than he did use against the taxicab strikers, Commissioner O'Ryan said: "My background has been military, and my training hasn't much to do with liberalism."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coal Price-Fixing in St. Louis

By CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL

St. Louis, July 31

FOR the evidence it furnishes of the wisdom of General Johnson's order of June 7 forbidding price-fixing in future NRA codes and of the advisability of making that order retroactive, the present situation in the retail coal industry in the St. Louis marketing area is significant.

On July 21 the coal division at Washington disapproved the minimum price list announced on May 20 by Divisional Code Authority Number 32 of the Retail Solid Fuel Industry. This unprecedented action seemed at first to have averted a serious test of the recovery program. Its immediate effect was the cancelation of a public hearing to discuss coal prices which the Code Authority had called for July 24 upon the demand of Attorney General Roy McKittrick of Missouri, who threatened to invoke the Missouri anti-trust laws and protect chiselers unless the list were revised downward.

Optimism disappeared, however, when Charles P. Melton, administration member of Division Number 32, issued a vehement defense of the list of May 20, criticized Washington severely for setting it aside, and announced a public hearing to be held August 6 to determine whether an emergency existed in the industry to justify a new price list.

Backed by the Consumers' Council of St. Louis and by several organizations of Illinois coal operators and independent coal dealers (dealers unaffiliated with the St. Louis Coal Exchange, a trade association of 134 large dealers which named thirteen of the fifteen members of the Code Authority), the attorney general has served notice that unless Washington dissuades Division Number thirty-two from further price-fixing activities, a legal battle between the federal government and the State of Missouri is inevitable. He also has demanded Mr. Melton's removal from office, together with that of Clarence C. Beck, executive secretary, and William J. Miller, president of Division Number 32.

The "psychology of the situation" before Mr. McKittrick entered the picture three weeks ago was one familiar during the prohibition era: there is no moral compulsion to obey a bad law, especially when there seems to be no likelihood of its being enforced. That attitude, shared alike by consumers, mine operators, and independent dealers, was well known to members of the Code Authority, who met scores of complaints with either a deaf ear or insulting retort.

The reasons given by the research and planning and legal divisions of the NRA in recommending the disapproval order were similar to the criticisms which were directed locally at the price list:

That an insertion in the classified-advertisement section of one St. Louis newspaper on April 1 was improper and insufficient notice for the emergency hearing on April 2, which was attended only by about 150 coal dealers, mostly large, and by no consumers.

That the basis on which the price list was prepared was faulty, inasmuch as the cost sheets of only twenty-nine companies were considered and because to the average cost of $2.75 a ton (not including cost of the coal at the mines and transportation) was added an arbitrary and unexplained twenty-three cents.

In addition, coal operators of the Belleville, Illinois, area, fifteen miles from St. Louis, where about 75 per cent of the coal consumed in St. Louis is mined, claimed that raising the retail price of that coal from $2.75 a ton, for which it sold last winter, to $5.90 a ton would discriminate against them in favor of better grades of coal from more distant points, chiefly Franklin and Saline counties in southern Illinois. The principal retailer of the latter product is the Hawthorn Coal Company, representative of the Insull-controlled Peabody Coal Company. President Miller of the Code Authority is president of Hawthorn.

The first consumer to be affected by the code price list —significantly the largest single consumer in the area—was the St. Louis Board of Education, which had advertised for bids before the list was announced. After first threatening to reject all bids, the school board finally voted unanimously to award approximately one-third of its contract to the Coal Service Company, a frank chiseler. Two days later the school board of University City, the largest St. Louis suburb, rejected all coal bids as excessive. At present all bids for coal for various departments of the City of St. Louis are being held up. Officials of the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange and of the St. Louis Building Owners' and Managers' Association have predicted that their members will patronize chiselers if the Code Authority repeats its former action.

Instead of yielding to the deluge of criticism from all sides, the Code Authority has cited legal justifications of its actions and has issued a series of orders to tighten its power. In answer to the charge that insufficient notice was given of the April 2 hearing, it has replied that the ruling defining adequate notice as meaning ten days and individual notices to all interested parties was not issued until April 24 and was not retroactive. The Consumers' Council retorted that no action of Division Number 32 became official until approved by Mr. Melton after his appointment on May 7, and that the spirit if not the letter of NRA was violated in any case.

When the Board of Education and other consumers were suspected of planning to buy coal directly at the mines and paying to have it hauled to St. Louis, a midnight meeting of Division Number 32 was held to rush through two preventive orders. One declared that anyone engaged by a consumer to truck coal from the mines should be considered a retail merchant and subject to code prices; the other sought to put the mines themselves under the retail code in case they sold directly to consumers.

The Code Authority also tried in vain to get the Belleville Group Coal Association of mine operators to guarantee a uniform and standard B. T. U. (British Thermal Unit) test for standard coal. The result of the operators' refusal to do so was that some dealers, including Code Authority members, made abnormally high B. T. U. and abnormally low ash-content guaranties, the idea being to obtain contracts and pay rebates when failing to meet requirements.

In its replies to critics Division Number 32 has taken

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the lofty point of view that any and all criticisms are attacks upon the government of the United States and come from "parties either entirely ignorant of the work of the Code Authority or out of tune with the times." Speaking of Melton's attitude McKittrick declared: "He seems to think he's the federal government."

To be "in tune with the times," in the opinion of Melton, Beck, and Miller, is to favor price-fixing which will "weed out" the industry for the benefit of the most strongly established dealers who "represent the backbone of the industry."

After telling the attorney general that the small dealer and consumer never can expect a square deal from men with that ideology, the chairman of a group of coal haulers expressed the attitude of the little fellow in part as follows:

"We are patriotic Americans and enthusiastic in our support of President Roosevelt. However, there has been so much chiseling since the code price list that unless some change is made, everything that has been accomplished under the NRA to improve the wages and working conditions of coal miners and laborers will be lost. We cannot stand by indefinitely and see our business snatched away from us with no effort being made to prevent the large dealers from violating the rules they themselves have set up."

That is the situation which Attorney General McKittrick stepped in to stop and which he insists shall not recur. Unless Washington again intervenes to check the activities of Division Number 32, the NRA may be faced with one of its most important tests.

What Do Women Want?

By MARION B. COTHREN

Paris, July 15

JUST "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal" were the resolutions passed by the International Council of Women in answer to the heartbreaking appeals of women throughout the world today. Presided over by Lady Aberdeen, now nearly fourscore years of age and strongly resembling Queen Victoria, 300 delegates from 30 different countries held their congress in Paris in July. They came from Europe, from Asia, from Africa, from North America; from points as widely distant as Australia, India, South Africa, China. Thirteen came from the United States. Well-known women were there: Fröken Hesselgren, a member of the Swedish Parliament; Princess Cantacuzène, of the Municipal Council of Bucharest; the Maharani Sahebi of India; Mme Maria Vérone, France's most famous suffragist. The quota from the United States included Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms, ex-Congresswoman from Illinois; Grace Thompson Seton, explorer and author; and Lena Madesin Phillips, president of the Woman's Business and Professional League. Alice Paul, at the last minute, did not sail.

Their resolutions were vacuous, not because the universal plight of women was unknown to the delegates. Again and again the speeches emphasized the fact that everywhere married women are being dismissed from their jobs; equal pay is becoming a joke; in Italy and Germany women are practically barred from all fields of endeavor except that of domestic service. In Germany only 10 per cent of the students in colleges can be women. As for political recognition, even in countries where there is woman suffrage, women are not given a voice in government councils. Certainly a Frances Perkins in the Cabinet, a Ruth Bryan Owen in Denmark, a Florence Allen in the United States Court, an Anna Moskowitz and others scattered in city and State offices throughout the nation can hardly be called political recognition for fifty million women who have been voters for twenty years.

In fact, save for the right of women to choose their own nationality, that principle which Doris Stevens had inserted in the Pan-American treaty and which was made a federal law by our last Congress, the story of women's advance during the past few years was a doleful tale of ignominious retreat.

The council failed to achieve anything vital in spite of immediate compelling events. There was the fact that the German delegates, at the last minute, were not permitted to attend the congress. The *Führer* refused them their visas. Also known to many was the plight of Frau A. and Frau B. in Germany. These two women had often aided the members of the council in their work for women. Today their homes have been looted and their possessions and money seized by the Nazis, not because of race or creed but solely because they believe in peace. And yet Germany is not supposed to be at war. Added to these incidents was the news spread over the columns of the Continental press of the outrageous treatment of women political prisoners in Italy. If there ever was a direct challenge flung at a gathering of feminists, it was flung at the International Council of Women in those days from July 2 to July 12.

The council answered it by a medley of resolutions on every conceivable subject. Most of them lacked both direction and vitality. Fear seemed to hover over the delegates' heads at a time which called for courage, initiative, and clear thinking. For example, "A Charter of Rights" for mothers, married and unmarried, was introduced. The opening clause was, "The woman who accepts the sufferings and duties of motherhood is entitled to respect." But the delegates punctiliously voted out the word "respect."

There were a number of resolutions on peace such as, "We desire to dedicate ourselves afresh to the supreme task of surmounting the barriers of race, creed, caste, and nationality." These resolutions were good but not original, following closely the ideas of various committees of the League of Nations. All work for peace is tremendously needed; but after all peace today is no orphan child. Both men and women are working furiously for it. But in the light of past experience no one is going to save the women from economic and political drowning in war but the women themselves.

Lena Madesin Phillips, after much work behind the scenes, did get the delegates to indorse the idea of a woman's right to choose her own nationality. After that, merrily on marched the procession of resolutions: on suffrage, of course; also on drugs, movies, broadcasting, prisons, sex hygiene, equal pay, school budgets, and the admission of children to barrooms. Then the council passed, shoulder to shoulder with disarmament resolutions of world-wide importance, one on tonsils and adenoids. And topped them all off with a motion to save the little fishes and birds from death by the discharge of oil from ships at sea.

Fish and tonsils! When women the world over are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being sacrificed in the name of the god of the economic crisis! When in a few months many women lost the things gained after their struggle of decades! The time was ripe for those crusaders from thirty different nations to hurl forth to the four corners of the earth a ringing manifesto of women's wrongs and women's rights in this year 1934. But these 300 women missed their opportunity. Small wonder that the Paris press summed up the work of the International Council of Women in a headline saying: "Women Quit Talking After Asking Lots."

In the Driftway

IT is some 442 years since Columbus first set foot on American soil. And the Drifter, climbing one step upward on his little individual Ararat as the roaring tides of chaos rise higher and higher, wonders if it wouldn't have been a good idea if Columbus when he returned to Spain had said simply: "I found nothing. There is nothing there." The Drifter will leave it to his readers to mull over what might not have happened if Columbus had just kept still about his discovery. But discoverers have always talked and even now they have not learned the wisdom of silence.

* * * * *

THE Drifter is led into these reflections by a piece of news that has just come out of Australia. In the center of New Guinea a group of Australian government scientists have discovered a new "promised land," a grassy, fertile country where 200,000 "fine, healthy blacks" have been living for centuries completely shut off from the world. Ranges of high mountains, and the theory among scientists that New Guinea consisted entirely of wilderness, swamps, and jungles, guarded the blacks and their beautiful plateau from discovery until one day a group of airplanes stuck their noses over the mountains—and the game was up.

> We just rubbed our eyes [said Mr. Chinnery, one of the discoverers]. We couldn't believe what we saw. Instead of endless jungle we saw beautiful rolling country ahead of us with rivers meandering through green valleys. . . . Most of the plateau is between 5,000 and 6,000 feet above the sea and the climate is cool and pleasant.

Having discovered the land, the scientists in the planes must needs go into it on foot and explore it thoroughly. The Drifter can understand this. But he feels that in the present state of the world a scientist should have better sense than to make public the existence of a corner of the earth that is still comparatively happy. Mr. Chinnery seems to be aware of his mistake. He seems to be as sorry as the Drifter that he ever brought the matter up. "It is a pretty big responsibility," says he, "to add 200,000 natives to the British Empire and make sure they won't be exploited." "For the present," he continues, "we are trying to introduce a system of indirect rule under which one man from each village is chosen to do the government work of keeping law and order." He fails to say how law and order were kept before and why it wasn't a good system. "I don't expect trouble," he goes on sadly, "unless gold is found in the new lands. Then prospectors will pour in and it will be difficult to keep the country for the natives." And he ends on an ominous note. "Some gold has been found already. . . ."

* * * * *

IT is a tribute to the early church fathers that they recognized the dilemma in which Mr. Chinnery finds himself. For them paradise was forever beyond reach of mortal man. No rust could corrupt it, no empires could steal away its bright desirability. It was paradise, indeed, merely by virtue of the fact that man could not attain it until he had lost his human nature and become an angel. Unfortunately this does not help the 200,000 happy natives in New Guinea who have now been duly delivered into the hands of the British Empire. It is just too bad that Mr. Chinnery and his companions, when they returned from that fateful journey over the mountains, did not retort simply: "We found nothing. There is nothing there."

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Help Herndon!

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The readers of *The Nation* do not need to be told of Angelo Herndon, Negro organizer of the unemployed, who has been sentenced to eighteen years on a Georgia chain gang, charged with inciting to insurrection. Actually, he led a demonstration of blacks and whites to demand relief after the Atlanta authorities had expressly invited all those who were not being properly cared for to present their grievances.

But the readers of *The Nation* may not have heard that Herndon will go to the chain gang on August 3 unless bail of $15,000 is raised first. Contributions in cash or Liberty bonds should be sent to the International Labor Defense, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York. Corliss Lamont, Robert W. Dunn, and Anna Damon will act as trustees of all funds sent in for this purpose.

New York, July 24 QUINCY HOWE

Teachers in Distress

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Again the children of New York State are being made the victims of false and outrageous economy. Under the Friedsam Act the amount of State aid required for the coming school year is $116,000,000, but the State has thus far appropriated only $102,000,000. Since the education budgets of municipalities throughout the State were computed on the basis of the full statutory quota of State aid, those communities which are unable to increase their income from local taxation now find it impossible to maintain their educational standards. New York City, for example, is faced with a shut-down of the schools and another payless furlough for teachers in December unless the full allotment of State funds is forthcoming.

All friends of free public education are urged to bring pressure immediately on Governor Lehman and Senators Jeremiah Twomey and John Dunnigan, to live up to the provisions of the Friedsam Act by providing the necessary complement of State aid.

New York, July 21 PAUL GASTWIRTH,
Chairman Legislative Committee,
Clasroom Teacher Groups

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lenin, Trotzky, and World Revolution

To the Editors of The Nation:

The vehemence with which the Stalinists here and the Trotzkyites abroad are cursing me for my article The Tragedy of Trotzky, in *The Nation* for May 2, suggests that I told a truth uncomfortable for both of them. As for Elliot E. Cohen's rejoinder the following week, I must in the first place violently protest against the "summary" of my article with which he begins. It is as unnecessary as it is misleading.

I did not say that Trotzky's trust in the world revolution was a "heresy." I said it was a mistake. It was a mistake for a statesman to base his policy between 1924 and 1927 on the supposition that a world revolution would come soon enough to rescue the Soviet Union from the capitalist decay into which he thought it was relapsing. It is one thing to believe in the coming of the world revolution. Stalin declares that we are approaching a new "series of wars and revolutions." But for Trotzky to have set up world revolution as an alternative to Stalin's program of building socialism in one country meant that he expected an actual world revolution within a few years. Here he was definitely in error. For at no time between 1924 and the present has the world revolution been so near as to warrant a Soviet statesman in including it as a factor in the formulation of policy. Where would the Soviet Union be today if instead of trying to build socialism and to reconcile itself to normal relations with bourgeois Powers it had assumed, as Trotzky assumed, that the proletariat's relation with the peasantry could wait while it sacrificed every consideration to the prosecution of the world revolutionary cause? The Soviet Union would have suffered, but nothing the Soviet government might have done could have brought about the world revolution.

I said in my original article that "there is reason to believe that toward the end of life, seeing the likelihood of world revolution diminish, he [Lenin] inclined to Stalin's present view that socialism could be established in the Soviet Union." Mr. Cohen does not believe that there is any evidence for the assumption that Lenin took the view of socialism in one country. Here is the evidence:

In May, 1923, eight months before he died, Lenin published his famous and much discussed article On Cooperation. "We are forced to recognize," he wrote, "a fundamental change in our entire point of view on socialism. . . ." "For us it is enough now to carry out this cultural revolution in order to become a completely socialist country. . . ." "For us now the simple growth of cooperatives is identical with the growth of socialism." To become a socialist country, Lenin said in his last paragraph, Russia must raise its cultural level and develop its material means of production. These are the very processes which have been pushed so intensively ever since he wrote those words but especially after 1928.

Lenin's assertion in 1923 that "our entire point of view on socialism" had undergone a fundamental change was not a sudden inspiration. It was his deduction from five and a half years of Soviet history. Prior to 1917 all Bolsheviks of course believed that a socialist regime could not be established permanently in agrarian Russia unless a world revolution came to its aid. But the moment the Soviet government was formed it became necessary to decide in each instance whether the given possibility of furthering revolution abroad warranted the Bolsheviks in taking the risks connected therewith.

When the New Economic Policy was inaugurated, many Bolsheviks asked: For how long? Lenin replied in a short speech on May 28, 1921. Naturally, he affirmed, a policy intended for many years may be scrapped if the world revolution arrives. At the moment, capitalism was somewhat more stable. Nevertheless, revolution was still possible. "We, however," he stated, "cannot resort to guesses in this matter [of the advent of the world revolution—L. F.]. At present we exert our main influence on the world revolution by our domestic economic policy." And again: "If we solve this problem [of Russia's economy] then we will have certainly and finally won on an international scale, too."

This is Stalin's present policy of furthering the world revolution by achieving economic progress at home. Lenin's advice was to push the building of socialism in Russia and not to depend on guesses regarding the imminence of foreign revolution. Trotzky did not take this view in 1924 or at any subsequent date since he did not believe in the socialization of the peasantry. He did not conceive, therefore, of socialism in the U. S. S. R. without foreign revolutions. In 1919, in a pamphlet entitled "Results and Prospects," Trotzky discussed a program of socialist agrarian reform. "But how deeply," he asked, "can the socialist policy of the working class affect Russia's economic conditions? One can say with certainty: it will encounter political obstructions much sooner than it will be checked by the technical backwardness of the country." That is, peasant opposition would prevent the socialization of agriculture, and technical progress is therefore not the way to achieve socialism. "Without direct government support from the European proletariat," Trotzy accordingly asserts, "the working class of Russia cannot retain power and convert its temporary domination into a prolonged socialist dictatorship." This is the principle of "permanent revolution," a doctrine of pessimism regarding Soviet internal developments. Trotzky felt that before Soviet industrial progress overcame peasant opposition, peasant opposition would overcome the Bolsheviks—unless the world revolution saved them. Events have proved this theory completely wrong. The world revolution is as far away as when Trotzky was expelled from the Communist Party but socialism in the U. S. S. R. is much nearer at hand. The Trotzkyists do not believe this. They reject the Soviet Union. Mr. Cohen denies that assertion. But I have read enough Trotzkyist literature to know that it is true. And I have also read Mr. Cohen's articles. "Facts mountain-high confirm Fischer's news of Moscow's repudiation of Leninism," he writes. Of course I did not say that Moscow had repudiated Leninism. That is only Cohen's "summary." It is Mr. Cohen who affirms that Moscow has repudiated Leninism. The dilemma of Rakovsky is the dilemma of all Trotzkyists. They cannot approve of Soviet policy. (Let Mr. Cohen say that he does, or let him distinguish between Stalin's program and the Soviet government.) And the world revolution on which they base their hopes is rather slow in making its appearance. Liberals and foreign Communists can afford to wait for it. But the statesmen in Moscow had to formulate a policy. The result has not always been such as to satisfy the delicate sensibilities of outside observers like myself and Mr. Cohen, who would love to see a 100 per cent observance of revolutionary mores. But this is a realistic world and it makes ugly demands on politicians. It was with Lenin's knowledge that Chicherin went to Genoa in 1922 in top hat and cutaway and bowed to a king and clinked wine glasses with the Pope's representative. It was while Trotzky was a member of the Politburo that friendly relations were established with Mussolini. The rest is a question of degree and of execution. If you must trade with the capitalists, and the Bolsheviks must, and if you want some guaranty of peace, then you must have friendly diplomatic relations with the bourgeois Powers—and they exact their price. This is very sad—but it is so. It would be much better if there were Soviets in the United States, England, and France. But there aren't.

Moscow, July 1 Louis Fischer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor and Industry

The Kohler Myth Dies

By GUNNAR MICKELSEN

Kohler, Wisconsin, July 29

NEWSPAPERS have given their account of the Kohler strike and massacre. There is more to the story. The two men that died in hospitals shortly after the attack by a privately hired company army of not less than 500 men were shot in the back. The backs of the legs and thighs of five women were riddled with buckshot and bullets. At least fifty others were hit with gunfire. The attack and attitude of the company deputies became so savage that Father J. W. McGuire, federal mediator, known as a friend of labor, urged the governor to send troops to protect the strikers. With the evening and night of terror, the myth of the "Kohler Utopia" was smashed forever. The story behind the strike is the story of the rise and fall of America's most widely advertised venture in industrial paternalism.

For eleven days a picket line made up 90 per cent of employees and former employees of the company had patrolled the plant, with only a single minor occurrence of disorder. The strikers' committee claimed a membership in the A. F. of L. union of 1,900 out of a possible 2,500 employees. Throughout the State newspapers sided militantly with Walter J. Kohler, who issued a statement to the press charging the strike was fomented by "outside radical agitators." But newspaper reporters, in discussing the strike among themselves, agreed that they had been amazed at the type of men represented in the picket line. They were average, simple, good-natured German American workingmen who believed they were acting under new laws with the sanction and urging of a new kind of President. They were the men handpicked by the Kohler personnel experts.

While the pickets marched, the company prepared. Reporters learned from deputies stationed within the plant that the strike had been anticipated. Machine-guns had been placed at many points. Cots and food supplies for the guards were on hand. Several hundred lead-loaded billies were made in the plant. Two days after the strike began, the Kohler unit of the National Guard arrived from camp in several trucks, drove into the factory grounds, and stored their rifles and ammunition in the plant. All members of the unit are company employees. Two days before the massacre Anton Brotz, village mayor and research engineer for the company, publicly announced that trouble might be expected.

On the twelfth day of the strike the company evidently decided its preparations for the clean-up were complete. In the morning 150 armed deputies rode in steel-sided trucks down the picket line, "shaking it up." After the long period of peace the pickets were surprised at the sudden assault and made no resistance when their willow canes were taken from them and their shelters smashed. The entire situation had suddenly changed. From an atmosphere of peace, the air had become charged with apprehension and ill-will.

That evening crowds began assembling near the plant. In it were the wives and children of the strikers in greater number than before. A flung stone struck the spark that set off the disturbance. The crowd was several blocks from the center of the plant front, the office building. Pickets still marched back and forth. More stones flew. Windows broke. The crowd began to yell and cheer. It moved down the row of factory buildings, breaking windows as it went. So far there was no move on the part of the guards either inside or outside the plant. Richard S. Davis, veteran correspondent of the Milwaukee *Journal,* described this part of the event as follows:

> And then without warning it came—the angry answer of the waiting deputies... it was so sudden, so completely overwhelming that no one out there could do more than gasp and run. The strategy of the deputies had been well planned. The plan was not to forestall the costly attack, but to annihilate the attackers at the height of their destructive fury.

The company, the sheriff, and the mediator, each for reasons of his own, joined in an appeal for troops. The first act of the troops upon arrival next morning from Milwaukee was to disarm and disband the company army and to permit the strikers to reform their picket lines. Numerous machine-gun nests, on roofs and behind barricades, were pointed out by pickets and ordered removed by the troop commander. For perhaps the first time State troops were cheered by pickets as they marched through the town. In the face of as ruthless a slaughter of defenseless men and women as labor annals of the country can show, newspaper editorials went so far as to censure the deputies and to refer to Kohler as the "paternalistic executive" whose management of the strike situation was done "in blindness."

Kohler village deserves the praise it has got for the outward beauty of its houses and the arrangement of its streets and parks. It is not, however, as has been popularly supposed, the home of a majority of Kohler employees. Actually only about 16 per cent of those normally on the pay roll live there. Of the 400 employees living in the village, at least 150 are single men, housed in the dormitory. Most of the executives have their homes, larger than those of the workers, and in most instances removed from them by gullies or parks, in the village. Many foremen also live there, leaving but a very small percentage of rank-and-file shop employees as occupants of the model homes. In the face of these figures, the charge by Mr. Kohler that only a small percentage of the village residents were in the picket line loses all its intended significance.

In the belief that satisfied workers produce the most and the best work, Kohler began the building of a model factory village about twenty years ago. Land and homes ready to occupy, on streets that were already paved and parked, were sold to the employees through the Kohler Investment Company and financed by the Kohler Building and Loan Association. (Today foreclosure actions are pending against many of the homes.) Kohler agents met German boats at Ellis Island and urged the young and strong men

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among the immigrants to make their new home in Kohler.

In Kohler village and Kohler factory, Mr. Kohler was king. So long as business boomed, wages were average. There were few complaints, and those who made them were quickly weeded out. Within the walls of the plant itself the Kohler management ruled with no less an iron hand than the management of any other open-shop factory. Time study and the speed-up are the order of the day at Kohler. But the majority of the men upon whom the heaviest labor fell had come from countries where those things were taken for granted. Here at Kohler they had an employees' benefit association. It is true it deducted a monthly sum from their pay checks but then did it not pay them one dollar a day for thirteen weeks when they were ill, and $100 to their family if they died? It is true there was no summer vacation for shop workers, but every man Jack got a goose for Christmas if he was married, and a wallet or pocket knife if he was single. If the men in the sand-blasting department contracted silicosis in alarming numbers, that was too bad; but after all the pay of six dollars a day was good pay.

There was no doubt a sincere effort to retain men on the pay roll after the slump cut into sales, but early in 1932 there were already 225 Kohler employees and their families on the relief rolls of Sheboygan. The company has maintained that it built up large and costly inventories to keep the men at work, but no proof has been offered and the workers deny that any great stocks exist.

About a year ago hundreds of the shop employees were laid off indefinitely. Other hundreds were given but one or two days' work a week. Only a small percentage worked full time, and most of these were residents of the village. The 2,000 men and women that lived in Sheboygan and Sheboygan Falls were either on county relief rolls or lived with the help of their familes. Yet the regular dues for benefit, insurance, and athletic associations were deducted from the part-time checks. At times these deductions took the whole check. Besides, there were the fines for faulty work and breakage of machinery. It was then the men began to think. They knew, for instance, that a State law passed in 1931 made it illegal for employers to charge the men for faulty work and breakage unless gross negligence could be proved.

When the NRA granted labor the free right to organize, there was a spontaneous rush of Kohler employees to join the A. F. of L. union. One of the foremen in the plant, a village resident, was chosen president. Besides union recognition, the men wanted seniority rights in the allotment of work and sixty-five cents an hour for semi-skilled labor, which had been grouped with common labor at the forty-cent minimum rate set by the code (Walter Kohler is a member of the plumbing code authority that fixed the wages). Mr. Kohler countered with a company union and scores of those who had joined the workers' union were discharged for various given reasons. Complaints by the workers to the code compliance board had been shelved. Appeals to Washington were met with evasive answers and postponements. Recently union committees began calling upon Mr. Kohler. They were received, their demands listened to, and evasive answers given. Finally a fourteen-point demand was sent to the company. It replied with fourteen answers that were typical of all employers antagonistic to unions. The strike was called as a last effort to get the attention of Washington and compel the enforcement of Section 7-a.

Much has been said of the sincere interest felt by Walter Kohler in the welfare of his workers. Kohler is a member of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association, was at one time its president. As one who has often attended its meetings the writer can testify that its attitude toward workers is one of incredible enmity. One of its major functions is the lobbying for anti-labor legislation at Madison, and this work was no less vicious during the Kohler presidency than at any other time. In 1923 the Kohler Company sent a letter to all State legislators "respectfully requesting" them to vote against a "revolutionary and discriminatory measure" that proposed to reduce factory working hours from nine to eight a day. When it came to a final question of Kohler property or Kohler workers, it was gas, cracked heads, gunshot wounds, and death to the workers for the sake of the property. The crash of windows shattered on that sacred property was reason enough to loose a stream of lead into the well-loved employees.

Your Government Is a Strike-Breaker

By COLSTON E. WARNE AND LEO HUBERMAN

THE strike of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Union, affiliated with the Trade Unity League, on the 3,200-acre Seabrook produce farm in South Jersey, was recently "settled." Small wonder that strikers all over the country are suspicious of federal mediators and arbitration boards. The government in this instance seems to have played its usual role of effectively sabotaging a going strike while arranging for what is apparently a packed board to take up the issues in the future. Before examining the settlement as proposed by the federal conciliator, we should like to report the results of an investigation of a committee of the Philadelphia Civil Liberties Union on Saturday, July 7, when the strike was still in progress.

Identical questions were put to C. F. Seabrook and to the strike committee. The substance of the answers obtained is given here:

QUESTION: How did the strike start?

MR. S.: It's all the work of outside agitators. The strike was caused by Communists. For five years we've had no trouble whatsoever with our contented South Jersey labor. Then this man Henderson and his wife and Leif Dahl and his wife came down and started all the trouble. Henderson openly boasts that he is a Communist and I have a letter from him headed "District Organizer of the C. P."

STRIKE COMMITTEE: The strike started because Mr. Seabrook broke his April agreement with our union. Conditions had been so bad and wages so low on the Seabrook farm that we were compelled to strike in April. We won that strike and secured from Mr. Seabrook a one-year agreement to pay us thirty cents an hour, which was double our previous wage.

QUESTION: Are all the workers on strike?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. S.: Most of these workers would have been laid off at this time anyway. They don't count as strikers. The workers in the cannery have not gone out.

STRIKERS: All of the 350 workers are out with the exception of eight or nine tractor drivers who report for work but do not work.

QUESTION: What is the dispute about wages?

MR. S.: I have been paying my men thirty cents and upwards an hour and the women twenty-five cents. I never did cut wages. All of these reports in the *Daily Worker* and other papers that I wanted to pay eighteen cents and even sixteen cents are so many lies.

STRIKERS: Before the April agreement wages averaged fifteen cents an hour for men, twelve and one-half cents for women, and five cents for children (from seven years up). By the terms of our agreement we were to get a flat rate of thirty cents an hour for men, twenty-five cents for women, no more child labor, and time and a half for overtime and Sunday work. Here is Seabrook's letter telling us that he must cut wages, and at our meeting with him he told us he would have to return to an eighteen-cent scale. He also stated in his letter that "unless you accept this offer before 6 a. m. June 25, we expect to suspend permanently all operations other than those that can be carried out largely with mechanical equipment and to make such arrangements for workers to take care of these operations as we see fit and we do not propose to recognize or have anything further to do with your organization."

QUESTION: Do the workers live on the farm?

MR. S.: Yes, the company has provided houses and barracks for its help. Rent is very low and in many cases it is never paid and we don't bother about it.

STRIKERS: The workers are divided into three sections, whites, Negroes, and Americans, with the rents for their houses ranging from two dollars a month to ten dollars. The Negroes are given broken-down sheds such as you see here, most often without water, light, or sanitary facilities. The Italians, who form the white colony, pay higher rent for better houses. The tractor drivers and sub-foremen are the Americans who live in the best houses. In the winter months, when we are laid off, rent continues just the same, only it is added up and deducted from our spring pay checks. When we are working the rent is deducted in advance from our weekly pay checks. Here are pay-check stubs to prove this.

QUESTION: Is there also a company store?

MR. S.: No, but there is a store on the property where most of the workers buy their food.

STRIKERS: It's not a company store but everything we buy there is deducted from our pay check same as our rent. We get our checks at the store. Prices of most things are a penny or two higher than in the stores further along.

QUESTION: How do you explain the violence reported in the press?

MR. S.: It's the result of these Communist agitators. Yesterday two men, a constable and a tractor driver, went to the hospital after being beaten and stoned by strikers. We haven't had adequate police protection. Our man Saunders has done a good job, but our loyal workers have not been adequately protected in their right to work.

STRIKERS: Our picketing has been peaceful. We are not armed in any way. The company has had as constable Red Saunders, a man with a criminal record, who has slugged and beaten the picketers often with the aid of other armed thugs employed by the company. We have been tear-gassed and arrested on fake charges. This morning Seabrook tried to break up our picket line by hauling the pickets one by one into his office where the magistrate was holding court. When seven of our men refused to sign statements saying they would go off the line, they were sent to the Bridgeton jail on charges of vagrancy, and assault and battery with intent to kill. Seabrook's lawyers questioned us and the judges sentenced us in Seabrook's own office. We did not beat up the tractor driver and Red Saunders until after he knocked hell out of us with his one-and-a-half-foot blackjack.

QUESTION: We understand that yesterday morning some of the strikers were run down by a company truck driven by Courtney Seabrook. Is that true?

MR. S.: Absolutely false. Not a single person was even bruised. I have reports from my confidential observers that at the union meetings they practice falling down in front of trucks without getting hurt—just like they do in Union Square. They fall down and shout that a cop has beaten them.

STRIKERS: They drove right through our picket line full speed. Here is one of our men who was taken to the hospital with a smashed ankle. These two women just jumped out of the way in time or they would have been killed.

The foregoing testimony is clearly conflicting. Some light on the veracity of the witnesses may be thrown by the facts uncovered concerning the operations of the vigilantes in the area. When we questioned Mr. Seabrook concerning the activities of the vigilantes and the Ku Klux Klan he said he hadn't spoken to the leader of the vigilantes for seven months. We later learned that Seabrook had spoken at the meeting of the vigilantes the Monday previous! Also, during our conversation, Mr. Seabrook left the room and returned saying that Dave Jaggers, leader of the vigilantes, had just poned him offering fifty shotgun deputies for Monday morning's clean-up of the strikers. Later in the day we interviewed Mr. Jaggers at his Deerfield garage and recognized him as one of the men who had been present during our whole meeting with Seabrook!

Dave Jaggers told us that his committee was "prepared to go to the Seabrook farm Monday morning to run out of the county any strikers or strike agitators. If they aren't satisfied with their pay, let 'em get out." His efforts are backed up by the Klan, which has already frightened away the leader of the April strike by burning crosses and firing shots.

Mr. Jaggers and his vigilantes were on hand Monday morning. Our committee watched the peaceful picketing which was in progress. In spite of this, nine pickets were arrested for disorderly conduct and the use of tear gas was threatened by C. F. Seabrook. When he thought that observers had disappeared from the scene, an attack of tear and nausea gas was launched on the strikers. A wagon of beets came in from the fields. Two women ineffectively took handfuls in expression of their indignation. They were beaten by deputies who started a mass attack upon the picket line, followed by the use of the fire hose. Strikers retorted to both with shingles, sticks, and an occasional half-brick. At this point the battle cleared and the wagon of beets was rolled into the shelter of the cannery. Then the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deputies started a punitive expedition on the strikers' village. Tear and nausea gas was thrown along the row of pathetic cottages behind which the workers had sought shelter. Belford Seabrook, son of the proprietor, himself threw a bomb into a house then occupied only by an Italian mother and two very small children. He had previously shouted to his men: "Get this woman; she talks too much." The bomb, hurled through the window, landed on a bed and set the sheets ablaze. The rooms were so filled with smoke and gas fumes that the place was uninhabitable for more than two days. These children, as well as a number caught unawares in other houses in the row, suffered ill effects from the dose of tear gas. At the close of the attack, twenty-four more of the strike leaders were jailed.

Basic in the Seabrook dispute are the low prices of produce and the low wage scales generally prevalent in South Jersey—generally averaging about fifteen cents an hour. The Seabrook Farms have been aided by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Farm Credit Administration to the tune of $200,000. The existence of this loan, accompanied as it was with government supervision of expenditures, said Mr. Seabrook, had forced curtailment of wage payments.

Other government assistance came last winter from the CWA. But just as the food, clothing, shelter, and the courts in that township are all Seabrook, so the government agency fell into line. Mark Loper, field manager of the Seabrook Farms, was made CWA administrator. Instead of taking on those workers already laid off in the slack winter season, he transferred those favored workers still employed on the Seabrook Farms to the CWA pay roll to do work on Seabrook's private roads!

This, then, was the set-up when Federal Conciliator John A. Moffett made his appearance on Tuesday, July 10. After an all-day conference with Mr. Seabrook and the attorney for the union, an agreement was evolved by which the management agreed to continue the thirty-cent rate for men and twenty-five cents for women; to take back as many strikers as possible without discrimination until all were rehired; and to care for all future disputes through a board of adjustment of five members, two to be named by the Master of the Pomona Grange, one to be the County Agent, and one to be "a public-spirited citizen" selected by Judge Leroy W. Loder; the fifth was to be the federal conciliator himself. In order to gain an idea of the impartiality of the board set up by Moffett, it is significant to note that the Pomona Grange is representative of the "substantial" farmers, who last spring in the New Jersey meeting protested that the CWA wage scale was too high to permit of profitable agriculture. Furthermore, Judge Loder has been under attack by the union throughout the conflict.

Mr. Moffett, formerly legislative agent of the American Federation of Labor, gave as his parting shot: "The trouble at Bridgeton was mainly due to the radical element, the Communists. We want to make the board a permanent institution not only to settle the trouble at Bridgeton, but to adjust difficulties of the workers and canners all over New Jersey."

Thus the government continues its role as strike-breaker. Already gross discrimination against militant Negroes has appeared in the reemployment of workers. Outsiders are being hired in place of the strikers. Clearly, Mr. Seabrook owes the government a vote of thanks.

Labor Notes

What Is News?

As American workers grow more militant in their demands and methods, the police and those who control them grow more ruthless in the suppression of labor activities. The brutality with which pickets were shot down in Kohler, Wisconsin, is described in this issue of *The Nation* by Gunnar Mickelsen. For the benefit of those who doubt Mr. Mickelsen's story of the shootings, as well as of certain other aspects of the Kohler strike, because it differs from most of the reports from Kohler that have appeared in the daily press, *The Nation* wishes to put on record the testimony of Father McGuire, member of the Chicago Regional Labor Board and one of the federal mediators in the strike. In a speech before the session of the Sheboygan County Board at which it was decided to ask Governor Schmedeman to hold the State troops in Kohler pending a settlement, Father McGuire spoke in part as follows:

> I have been in many strikes but I never saw such needless and ruthless killing by supporters of the law. . . . When it is understood that most of the people were shot in the back last Friday, the ruthlessness is evident. You don't have to shoot people in the back when they are running away! I examined a score of wounded, and all except two were shot in the back. . . . A deep wrong has been done.

We take the account of this speech from the Milwaukee *Journal*. It would seem that as a mere matter of news such a statement by a federal mediator in a violent strike warranted national publication. The New York *Times* found space for an extremely wordy "special" story from Kohler more than half of which was taken up with sentimental and sympathetic sentences about Walter J. Kohler. Mr. Kohler, it pointed out in three different versions, is not disillusioned even yet. The Kohler contention, which Mr. Mickelsen effectively challenges, that the pickets are not Kohler employees—"they do not even live in Kohler village"—was also repeated at least twice. But the speech of Father McGuire a few days later was not reported in either the New York *Times* or the *Herald Tribune*.

Eyewitnesses who were also pickets in the Minneapolis shootings have said that it was a cold-blooded attack by heavily armed police on completely unarmed pickets. They maintain that many of the victims were shot in the back and that some of them were shot in the back as they stooped to pick up wounded comrades. Such witnesses would be the last to claim impartiality but the following letter from an outside observer closely confirms their statements. It comes from E. E. Fagereng, secretary of the University of Minnesota Press, and it reads in part:

> On last Thursday and Friday the so-called "Citizens' Alliance" (an employers' organization) decided that they must break the strike, and determined to terrorize the strikers and then to throw a "red communistic" scare into the all-too-gullible public. On Friday afternoon, July 20, Father Haas called at the office of Chief of Police Johannes and had the understanding with him that there would be no police intervention until there had been time to arrive at peace terms, and he stated he had reason to believe that the difficulties would soon be ironed out. At the very moment of this conference the police were having a showdown with the strikers under orders from Chief Johannes. Apparently the employers feared that the Reverend Haas had too much sympathy in his heart for the workers and that any settlement he might negotiate would give some recognition to the workers' unions. The Minneapolis employers are fully determined at all costs to do everything in their power to break the unions and to keep Minneapolis an open-shop town. Last Friday they decided to begin moving

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trucks under armed guard. Hundreds of policemen were called into action, and a test truck containing only a few small boxes was the first to be moved. Naturally the pickets sensed what was being done and gathered to resist. The "pitched battle" referred to in the local newspapers was a cold-blooded shooting into a group of entirely unarmed men. Not a single one of them carried a weapon. The first victim to die, Henry Ness, a Scandinavian World War veteran who is survived by a poverty-stricken widow and four small children, was buried yesterday. Forty of the forty-five victims are reported to have been shot in the back, some of them as far as three blocks away.

Two Blue Eagles

I

FEW incidents in the history of the NRA are so scandalous as the recent agreement by which the Blue Eagle was restored to the Harriman, Tennessee, Hosiery Mills. The Blue Eagle was removed, on the recommendation of the Wagner Board, because the company played fast and loose with Section 7-a and stubbornly refused to try negotiating a collective contract in good faith. Furthermore, the company consistently drew back from reinstating some 300 former strikers, not to speak of the thirty union workers whose discharge precipitated the strike. The NRA's agreement with the company has not a word to say about any obligation on the management to negotiate a contract with the local of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. Provision is made, not for the reinstatement of 300 strikers, but for the rehiring of twenty-five within sixty days and of twenty-five more by January 1—if, as, and when the mill adds to the present total of its working force. Moreover, the promise of reinstatement is hedged about with contingencies which transform it into a mere scrap of paper. Naturally enough the return of the Blue Eagle under such circumstances aroused the resentment, not only of the hosiery workers' union, but also of the Labor Advisory Board, of William Green, of Major Berry, and, it is said, of Secretary Perkins. Responding to these protests, General Johnson has commanded that the Blue Eagle shall be withdrawn unless the mill rehires fifty workers "immediately," and unless the management "agrees to collective bargaining." But General Johnson is silent about the 250 remaining strikers and does not explain what he means by the term "collective bargaining." Indeed, there is reason to believe that General Johnson had a part to play in the agreement. Mr. Glancy, a subordinate who negotiated the agreement, would hardly have acted as he did on a matter of major policy unless he had authority to do so. Meanwhile the mill is operating with the NRA's blessing.

II

THE NRA code for men's clothing is one of the few codes providing minimum pay rates for semi-skilled and skilled workers over and above the basic unskilled minimum. Moreover, it is one of the handful of codes of which it can be said that the labor provisions are the fruit of genuine collective bargaining between a trade union and employers. That this particular code prescribed a wage scale rather than a bare minimum was due entirely to the skill and force by which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America brought pressure to bear last summer upon both the NRA and the non-union manufacturers. L. Greif and Brothers, Inc., of Baltimore, second largest manufacturer of men's clothing in the United States, running open shops in some ten plants, complied with the basic minimum of approximately $15 per week, but all other pay schedules were kept below levels prevailing in plants which met the code scale in full. This brought Greif into conflict with the industry's Code Authority, which ordered an upward adjustment of pay schedules and restitution of $100,000 in back wages. The management ignored both orders, the Code Authority turned for help to the NRA Compliance Division, and there ensued proceedings which led to the recent action depriving the Greif firm of the right to use Blue Eagle labels on its merchandise. Apparently, however, the company intends to ignore the Compliance Division and continue to use Blue Eagle labels until the matter is passed on by the court this fall. The issues here are simple yet fundamental: Can semi-skilled and skilled workers expect no protection under the codes? Shall employers be permitted to level down all wage rates toward the sheer minimum? In industries where workers are organized, shall a manufacturer be permitted to whittle away the union scale?

Rubber "Settlement"

HERALDED as a victory by newspapers, including the *Daily Worker*, the settlement of the General Tire and Rubber Company strike in Akron, Ohio, was actually a severe setback for labor. The strike of 1,100 workers, which started early in June, was begun primarily to obtain labor recognition. This was not granted. Instead, the company in an eight-point program agreed to meet with any committee of "our employees" duly appointed to discuss grievances. This statement and the fact that the eight-point program was addressed to the employees were accepted as recognition by union leaders. The next day President William O'Neil of the company cleared up that point by saying that it did *not* mean recognition. Six of the eight points dealt with wage increases—minor ones at best—and provisions for seniority rights in lay-offs. No provision was made to prevent lay-offs. The A. F. of L. union leaders refused to let O'Neil add the provision that he would recognize the union when other rubber barons recognized their employees' unions. This at least would have shown the workers that the settlement which they accepted did not include recognition. This peculiar type of settlement has since been effected in two other Akron strikes—one at the Enterprise Manufacturing Company involving 200 union men, and one at an ice company affecting 50 workers. It is highly probable that other settlements in the tire industry will follow the Akron model. Meanwhile the coming of the slack season makes a real strike more difficult.

A Problem for Mr. Ickes

THE management of the second largest refinery of Andrew Mellon's Gulf Refining Company, at Girard Point in Philadelphia, has defied the order of the Petroleum Labor Policy Board that 900 men who went out on strike for wages set in the petroleum code be taken back to work. To take back the strikers, J. H. Drake, president of the company, pointed out, would mean dismissal of the hundreds of faithful men who came in—*at wages higher than the code scale*—to break the strike. Drake's admission that strike-breakers were hired happens to be at variance with the statement of his manager to the Petroleum Board that no new workers were hired after the strike was called on June 27. But aside from the question of wages, the Gulf management declares that the strikers have lost whatever rights they may have possessed because they withdrew from the stand-pat American Federation of Labor union in the oil industry and formed their own labor organization, which they call the Independent Oil Workers' Union. Mr. Ickes is here confronted with another neat problem in labor relations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Warning to the Good

By VINCENT McHUGH

Enmity has no color,
Neither red nor gray.
Discoverable in a knife
Or a child at play,
Or in the fair good-morning
Whereby the throat is gored,
As if it could afford
Enmity speaks the pleasantest word
The magnanimity of grace,
The latitude of the heart.
Expect no miser in the race
Of those that kill by art.

The Noble Sport of Ballad Hunting

UNMISTAKABLY it is a sport, combining uncertainty with trophies. Ballad hunters are often matched against each other, chasing the illusory line, and a code exists for them in the great Child collection. Hunting in the Southern highlands they enter a romantic preserve where they may dwell for days, even weeks, according to their tact or their kin or their introductions. They may travel picturesquely in jolt wagons, and have the pure delight of listening to the song of a people to whom song is as natural as speech and often as freely used.

In all ways the sport seems noble, and it is very unworldly. But isn't there danger that it may join in kind with falconry, archery, the collection of antique jewels, and other quaint reversions to the past? To know that the lovely patterns of the ballads have long been spread through the underply of American life is important, even thrilling; but the charting of these areas, the work of collection, is now finished in the main. We have learned that the Scotch and English ballads have been handed down not only in the South but in New England, the Ohio Valley, across the Mississippi, in the far West. State by State, tabulations have been made, and the most minute variations in phrasing have been recorded.

But it often seems to be forgotten, particularly of the ballad-singers of the South, that these people are not an enchanted folk out of an old tale. They may live on subsistence farms; just over the way are coal mines and textile mills. They are irresistibly linked with the present, and, though this has been generally denied, they have always shared in the life of their time. According to a rather pretty notion Elizabethan life has been preserved among them almost intact; the ballads are offered as triumphant evidence, with ancient tools, customs, and superstitions. But more often than not the Elizabethan ballads have been reshaped to tell of events within the memory of the singers, or within local tradition, or hearsay of a tradition from over the next ridge. Mingled with remnants of the great era are many ballads from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Victorian music-hall songs may be heard. And ballads and fiddle tunes ring out for which no simple ancestry may be traced. Not every mountain dance tune goes back to "Old Mother Oxford."

Life in these coigns has had its ebb and flow; the songs prove it, and new levels of fancy have constantly appeared, with fresh fusions of form. Even in the Southern mountains the Child ballads are only part of a rich inheritance some of which has been greatly neglected. Too often, rowdy, salty native stanzas and unfamiliar dance tunes have been passed by in the search for a perfect version of "Lord Randal."

Nor are the Scotch and English ballads a highly contrasted aristocracy in our folksong, as is often assumed. I have heard an old Michigan lumberjack sing "The Banks of the Pamanaw" with the rapt, faraway air that is a classic possession of the ballad singer. The crude tale of the "loveli squaw" was set to a simple tune, unmistakably English in origin. Even with a cracked voice the old lumberjack kept that purity of musical outline which traditionally belongs to the ballad—that impersonal style which is likely to make all romantic renderings of song seem strained and coarse.

It seems high time to consider the Scotch and English ballads in relation to our other truly vast possessions in folk music: our *voyageur* songs, sea-chanteys, schooner songs of the Great Lakes, lumberjack and cowboy ballads, white and Negro spirituals, Indian chants, railroad and hobo songs, prison ballads. On all sides the record is now very large, quite large enough to justify the beginnings of a critical approach. Quirks of native idiom, characteristic metaphor and shapes of story-telling, kinds of humor and tragedy, repetitions of given musical patterns, consistent style, typical divergences from ancestral forms—these irreducible creative elements belonging to us could be made to appear.

Research of any kind into the past is likely to be carried on in a dream world, and fox-fires often lead into bogs of mere accumulation. Perhaps the noble sport must go on; it is true that ancient men and women possess rare fragments of our folksong, and they may soon be gone. But something else may soon be gone. There is a final difference between using traditions while they are still alive, and returning to them, as to some dim arcanum, when their living force is spent. Our folksongs still have a powerful hold upon American feeling; the crude renascences over the air in the past two or three years are an indication. And the creative energy which produced this music in the past is by no means a thing of the past. In remote corners of the land folk music is still taking shape. Yet the general feeling for this music may easily dwindle and vanish. In many ways the frontier, where it flourished, is as remote as the pyramids; each decade whirls this phase of our experience farther away. But in these songs lie our most widely spread musical traditions. It may even be argued that here the stream of native poetry runs deepest. Surely it is true that no music, no creative expression of any sort, has developed without use of tradition; this may be transmuted or most deliberately left behind, but it must exist for fresh departures.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Criticism may clarify these traditions and build up an outline of what is distinctively ours; but beyond this, for any living use, this music must be heard, not alone by a few musicians seeking themes or folklorists tracing origins, but by an obscure generality of people who will merely enjoy it. For the most part these songs are buried in a museum of books. In many instances the collectors have thought that only the words were important. The National Folk Festival held at St. Louis last spring gave an unparalleled opportunity for hearing native music from many parts of the country; and regional festivals like that at White Top and Jean Thomas's at Ashland make it possible for fairly large groups to hear folksongs of the South. Such festivals seem a natural uprising. Undoubtedly others will be held. Interest in this music seems to come warmly to the surface even among those who know of it only by hearsay. But festivals are only one means of making these songs known. There are others, requiring drudgery, tact, or even genius, such as grappling on a large scale with the snares of broadcasting. Instead of following the noble sport in a dream world, those who know and love this music might attack the problems whose solution may mean its life or death.

CONSTANCE ROURKE

The Mystery of the Reichstag Fire

The Burning of the Reichstag. By Douglas Reed. Covici-Friede. $3.

THIS appears too early and too late, is the thought with which the reader takes this book in hand: too early to be accepted as a historic evaluation of that dramatic episode the Reichstag trial, too late for a thrilling piece of journalism reviving the persons and the important incidents of this most important judicial drama of our times. But one need only read the first chapters to revise this preconceived opinion. This is neither history nor journalism. With admirable skill a practical journalist has taken the thousand tangled threads that made up the warp and woof of Reichstag fire and trial, assembling them in orderly precision for the reader who seeks first-hand and accurate information, and has woven them into an exciting romance of plot and personality, leaving it to the reader to find the answer.

Mr. Douglas Reed, Berlin correspondent of the London *Times,* brings to the task unusual qualification. A fortunate accident led him past the Reichstag just as the fire was discovered and he was one of the first to enter the burning building. Then and in the days and months that followed he watched the actors play their parts with first interested, then skepical detachment: the embarrassed judges, anxiously conscious of each frown on the face of the powers-that-be; Dr. Sack, Torgler's defender, one of the victims of Hitler's purging of June 30; the witnesses Göring, Heines, and Count Helldorf, who with their cracking whips dominated this three-ring circus; the four defendants who, through fifty-seven endless days of court proceedings, submitted passively or with defiant courage, according to their various natures and capacities, to the register of calumnies, lies, threat, and perversions with which the Third Reich tried —and failed—to convince the world of their guilt; and last of all the strange and still unexplained Marinus van der Lubbe.

The effect on the reader of "The Burning of the Reichstag" is the greater because the man who wrote it is not a revolutionist, not even a radical. Douglas Reed is a typical journalist, a man without political or national bias, whose job it is to report what he sees with professional impartiality. But a sensitive understanding of human nature lifts what would otherwise have been a bare record of widely publicized facts into the realm of vivid historic narrative, in which a keen understanding of psychological impulses paints an illuminating background against which two figures stand out in bold relief, the Bulgarian Georgi Dimitroff and the Dutch Van der Lubbe, the two antipodes in the Reichstag trial. About them, with excellent dramatic effect, the author builds his story. "He shambled obediently, unprotestingly," so Mr. Reed describes Van der Lubbe's last journey to the block, "like an elderly retriever, trained to heel but heavy with age, to the guillotine."

But it is the figure of Dimitroff which gives "The Burning of the Reichstag" its arresting vitality. "If the quality of Dimitroff had been more widely known," the author comments with grim humor, "the agents of the German law might have been tempted, like the schoolboy with the newt, to put him back again. Certainly they caught a Tartar when they took Dimitroff." Here, in the person of an unknown Bulgarian revolutionist, is the mighty force that will yet encompass the downfall of the Nazi horror. It is Dimitroff's voice that calls to a dormant working class, helpless in the clutch of an unscrupulous band of adventurers: "Whether I stand or fall, does not matter." Because it is a record of this man's greatness, this book will live.

All this does not detract from its value as a source of carefully verified and documented information on this period of the Hitler regime. The author has rendered a real service in giving to the public of today and tomorrow exact yet thoughtful and eminently readable source material concerning one of the most passionately discussed happenings of our times.

LUDWIG LORE

Road-Map to Chaos

New Careers for Youth. By Walter B. Pitkin. Simon and Schuster. $1.50.

DR. PITKIN is very superior to parents, teachers, authors of competing books on vocational guidance, and other "elders." They have misled "the lost generation," American youth in search of a livelihood. They have palmed off on him a "Guide Book to Yesterday." Dr. Pitkin, however, with the assistance of a research staff of thirty, plus 500 "key-men" in various fields of enterprise, offers the first reliable ("235 pages of fact; no bunk") "Road-Map to Tomorrow."

"A man named Herbert Hoover" gets a sound thwacking from Dr. Pitkin for his "ridiculous statement": "The American boy and girl have even better opportunities and chances than ever before." Dr. Pitkin then proceeds to put the boys and girls wise to the facts of life. The flush days are over. This is the Age of the Machine. Every decade, as the machine advances, jobs disappear by the million; whole industries change, are wiped out. From the top to the bottom of society there is a contraction of opportunity. This, then, is "the pattern of destiny" for Americans in the "New Era." At each level, men of the highest ability and training will win out. The others, having proved to be "unfit," will step down a peg, to force the denizens of the lower level down a further peg, or be themselves forced down again. At the bottom, the hordes of "the grammar-school crowd and the illiterates will fight it out—to see who will be the hewers of wood and drawers of water." What of the rest? These unfit millions, the permanently idle, "will live along the railroad tracks out in the wilds of the Southwest, on the beaches of the two oceans, in the green fastness of the forests."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Such is the quest for bread in the New Era. Learning, intellectual achievement, art? Forget it. "Culture is a luxury, and often one of dubious worth." Today a young man would be foolish to seek it, "unless rich and safely settled." For "these years into which we all enter will be full of hardship, adventure, experiment, guessing, migration, broken homes, wars, revolutions, and perhaps even world-wide catastrophes."

A desolate country, this Land of Tomorrow. Where in this wilderness are the promised new careers for youth? Dr. Pitkin is not America's most successful soothsayer for nothing. Suddenly the black thunderclouds of the future are turned inside out, blaze with silver linings. Wolves on the stoop become blue birds. Unemployment finds a pleasanter name, "leisure." The chaotic maelstrom of our industrial system is blessed as inevitable change; which in turn imperceptibly becomes progress. "All progress is change." "America is moving onward and upward." The machine, implacable devourer of millions of jobs, simultaneously creates—we are not told how, or how many—"new opportunities." Poverty vanishes. "The very rich and the very poor are disappearing." Great rainbows now drape the sky, and visions of untold pots of gold.

> There are hundreds of hopeful signs that you young people will live more abundantly and work in a healthier and more interesting fashion than ever your parents dreamed of. Today the storm begins to clear, and light shines through in a wholly unexpected way. While your opportunities for an ordinary, old-style job are slim, those for a career are frequently more promising than ever. . . .

So Herbert Hoover was right after all.

Alas, Dr. Pitkin cannot deliver the goods, any more than the unhappy Herbert Hoover. The 500 "key-men," summoned to the stand to report "new opportunities," are confused, vague, contradictory, and for the most part, unhopeful. Their testimonies give the book its only value. They will help few boys and girls to jobs; but they give vivid documentation of the chaos and bankruptcy of our social system and its leaders when confronted by what is after all the crucial test of any civilization: what future can it offer its youth?

The door of opportunity which 500 "key-men" cannot unlock Dr. Pitkin spends the rest of the book trying to pick with assorted whimsies, tips, and admonitions. Such pearls as: "Could everybody living in 1950 speak English, this would be the most powerful deterrent of war yet invented." Such advice as: Start a private school. Start a small factory. Start a chain of inns. But dearest to Dr. Pitkin's heart are the jobs that cluster about "Quality Service," his own invention. People who have money to live don't know how to live. A Big Business of the Future will be understanding the Art of Living, and Selling It. To train for this you must understand people. "You must spend hundreds of hours talking to strangers, noticing how they act, what they prefer as to food, drink, clothes, furniture, music, girls [*sir!*], religion, and books." "You are now ready to serve," says Dr. Pitkin, "the Forgotten Man." Who pays whom, and for what, Dr. Pitkin omits to mention.

Other inventions are apprentice jobs (where you persuade the boss to let you work for years for nothing); merger jobs (which means that the man who can't get one job should get three and merge them); and cute little Hop-lite jobs. (Remember the Hop-lite Ladies?) Baking cakes. Selling flowers to neighbors. Tending gardens. Selling your cousin oranges.

The rest is exhortation. Life is a struggle. "Success is not a flower to be plucked in passing." "It is still true you can't keep a good man down." "The fittest will survive." "Make a job for yourself."

"Make a job for yourself." This is Dr. Pitkin's ultimate wisdom. Lift yourself by your own boot straps, boys and girls.

Chorus of boys and girls: Thanks for nothing, Dr. Pitkin.

ELLIOT E. COHEN

Alexander the Eccentric

Alexander the Corrector. By Edith Olivier. The Viking Press. $2.50.

IN this, her first venture into biography, Edith Olivier reintroduces to the world Alexander Cruden, an eighteenth-century eccentric. The very name of this fantastic character has long been forgotten by the general public. He is probably remembered only by Bible scholars and text-hunting clergymen, who still find his "Complete Concordance of the Old and New Testaments" invaluable. Since his life was infinitely more lively than his exhaustive dictionary of Biblical words, Miss Olivier is to be thanked for exhuming him.

He was born in Aberdeen of a solid middle-class Presbyterian family. His conventional classical education was unmarked by any unusual incident. It was not until he fell in love, at the age of twenty-one, that he exhibited the peculiarities that grew on him in later life. The girl did not return his passion, but he continued to pursue her with dogged zeal. It was impossible for Cruden, at any time in his life, to take no for an answer. When it finally became clear that the girl, so far from caring for Alexander, was actually pregnant by her own brother, he promptly went insane, and was confined for a short time in an Aberdeen prison. He recovered, but found it more pleasant to leave Aberdeen for London. There he supported himself for the rest of his days as a proof-corrector, a tutor, a scholar, and a bookseller. He lived obscurely enough for some time, and only rose once more to absurd prominence when he became embroiled with the Earl of Derby. He got a post as French reader to the cultivated Earl, and things went smoothly enough until it transpired that he could not pronounce a single word of the French language. The Earl promptly fired him, but Cruden refused to be fired. He deluged his employer with letters, he hung about the estate, and in general made a great and silly nuisance of himself. It took a threat of physical violence at last to dislodge him.

He returned to London to work diligently on his "Concordance," which, when published, had a gratifying success with the clergy. He was on the way to making an illustrious name for himself when, disastrously, he fell in love for the second time. The lady was a comfortable, securely fixed widow, a kindly soul, but fearful of Cruden's persistent and violent attentions. She and her friends had the harmless little man confined in Bethnal Green madhouse. He escaped after quite a stay there, and was peaceful enough until his sister and some of her friends, finding him involved in a street fight, caused him to be locked up again, this time in Chelsea. He was released and brought a ridiculous and futile lawsuit against his sister and her associates. Then for a third time, he fell in love, now with a well-born lady whom he had never seen. He was as relentless as ever in his courtship, and it was a year before his terrified victim persuaded him that his suit was hopeless.

All this time, his insane egotism was growing on him. He was no longer content to display it in private life, but yearned for public honors and royal notice. He took for himself the title of the Corrector of Public Morals, and thereafter referred to himself as Alexander the Corrector. He would walk about the streets with a sponge with which he would delete any inscription he saw that seemed to him harmful to the public morality. In this character, he made a triumphal tour of England, stopping at Oxford and Cambridge to appoint deputy correctors. He wrote long letters to the King and to Parliament on the evils of swearing and sabbath-breaking, begging them to bestow on him officially his self-assumed title. He had himself nominated as a candidate for Parliament. He pelted the King's lords-in-waiting with requests for a knighthood. In a calmer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spirit, he interested himself in judicial and prison reforms, and managed to save the life of an unjustly condemned convict. And throughout all these activities he kept at his scholarly labors, publishing late in life a concordance of the works of Milton. At the age of seventy-one he died saying his prayers, and was found by his servant woman, a prostitute whom he had regenerated.

Telling this absurd, pathetic story, Edith Olivier uses the same simple, childish, whimsical style that characterized her novels. This naive way of writing is not very well suited, I think, to the life of Cruden. The clear, obvious exposition, the elementary structure of her biography, are altogether lacking in surprises. Sometimes her method becomes so oversimplified that one imagines one is reading a college paper done by a hard-working, unoriginal student. Often Miss Olivier falls into the use of the biographer's stencils, the "Now we find Cruden . . .," "We can imagine how he felt . . ." sort of thing. A style more ornate, less deliberately bare would surely be more becoming to the extravagant Cruden. The biography as it stands is pleasant and charming, but I am afraid that Miss Olivier in 243 pages has done little more for Cruden than a good encyclopedia article might have done.

MARY MCCARTHY

Reactions to Our Tariff Policy

Tariff Retaliation. By Joseph M. Jones. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.

ONE of the amazing features of the economic crisis in the United States has been the dearth of scholarly books analyzing recent American tariff policy. It is with especial warmth, therefore, that we welcome Mr. Jones's penetrating study of the repercussions of the 1930 Tariff Act. While it has been generally recognized that the passage of the Hawley-Smoot bill was the signal for a world-wide race in economic armaments, the fact that no direct retaliatory action, labeled as such, was taken against the United States has tended to obscure our special responsibility for the extremes to which economic nationalism has developed in the past few years. This responsibility becomes more apparent if we accept the somewhat broad definition of retaliation proposed by Mr. Jones, and include all cases in which the psychological or the indirect effects of America's action have served to tip the balances of governmental policy in the direction of higher tariffs. The Hawley-Smoot bill was enacted at a moment when debtor nations throughout the world were finding it extremely difficult to secure sufficient foreign exchange to meet their obligations. These difficulties were substantially increased by the erection of additional barriers to the American market. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that there should be great indignation and resentment against the United States, and that this bitterness, coupled with the necessity of obtaining a favorable balance of trade, should have led to a new wave of trade restrictions.

Spain was first to take action against American exports by passing the Wais Tariff of July, 1930. This move only became definitely discriminatory, however, in the following year when Spain concluded treaties with France and Italy granting significant tariff reductions which were not passed on to the United States. Italy met the challenge of the American tariff by shifting her purchases of machinery, wheat, and petroleum products to Germany and the U. S. S. R.; while Switzerland, unfavorably affected by the increased duty on watches, retaliated by an unofficial but successful boycott of imports from the United States. France, Britain, and Canada also adopted measures which materially curtailed American export trade.

These retaliatory steps, according to Mr. Jones, were both

Genius, Moralist, Madman

Alexander Cruden, curious little Scotsman, dreamed of reforming ribald 18th Century London, created, page by page, under a flickering candle, his great Concordance to the Bible . . .

London knew him as a little man equally capable of windy, futile preaching and amazingly effective acts of goodness. Employing the unique talents which marked her *Dwarf's Blood* and *The Love-Child*, Edith Olivier recreates this earnest Don Quixote who wrote an immortal work and was thrown into a madhouse because he fell in love! VIKING PRESS. $2.50

ALEXANDER *the Corrector*

The Eccentric Life of Alexander Cruden
by EDITH OLIVIER

FILMS

Beginning Sat., Aug. 11th—1st American Showing!
AMKINO Presents New Soviet Talkie
"HOUSE of GREED"
Based on Famous Russian Novel "*Gentlemen Golgvlev*," By SALTYKOV-SCHEDRIN
With V. GARDIN (of "Shame", Etc.) (English Titles)
ACME THEATRE 14th St. and UNION SQ. | Midnight Show every Saturday Rendezvous of the Intelligentsia

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE
JOHN GUNTHER
ON
THE AUSTRIAN-GERMAN MIS-ENTENTE
Mr Gunther will picture the outcome of the recent Nazi shootings and the desperate efforts for stabilization of Austrian sovereignty put forth by the Great Powers.

FORBIDDEN FRIENDSHIPS
"There isn't a man on earth," says the medical authority who writes this article, "who has a Chinaman's chance of holding his wife against a Lesbian, once the Lesbian has thoroughly seduced the woman." He states legal cases, and explains completely the medical aspects of forbidden friendships in the current issue of
The Modern Psychologist
Edited by Dagobert D. Runes, Ph.D.
OTHER ARTICLES IN CURRENT ISSUES:
What Price Superiority Complex? ..... *Erwin Wexberg*
How to Interpret Dreams ..... *Sigmund Freud*
Why People Fail ..... *Alfred Adler*
Tricks of the Unconscious — Methods of Inducing Hypnosis
Food and Sexual Feeling — Alcohol and the Emotional Life
Enclose $1 (bill, check, money order) for special five-month subscription. Address
THE MODERN PSYCHOLOGIST
310 Riverside Drive New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the result of the traditional American system of tariff making and the cause of the decay of the principles on which that system is based. American commercial policy has been based on a single-schedule autonomous tariff, insuring "special concesssions to none, equal treatment for all." But in negotiating commercial treaties the United States has sought unconditional most-favored-nation treatment, even from states possessing contractual systems of tariffs with differential rates. The principle of equal treatment became merely an "equality of negation," Mr. Jones asserts, when we raised our tariff to such a height as to shut out goods which we did not and could not produce in quantities sufficient for our needs. To make matters worse, many of the duties established in the 1930 act, although general in application, were in fact discriminatory in their bearing on the highly specialized industries of certain countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that European nations have more and more tended to reject our pious theory of equal treatment, and have refused to pass on to the United States the concessions granted in bargaining treaties with other countries.

The remedy which Mr. Jones suggests for the obvious weaknesses of American commercial policy is a program of tariff bargaining not unlike that recently adopted by the Administration. In his anxiety to present the possibilities of bilateral negotiation in as favorable a light as possible, the author is, however, surprisingly oblivious to the dangers inherent in the bargaining principle. Moreover, he ignores the clear necessity on the part of the United States of making a substantial unilateral tariff reduction if international equilibrium is to be restored. Lapses of this type mar but do not destroy the fundamental validity of Mr. Jones's argument. A better book on the subject is conceivable, but it has not yet been written.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Shorter Notices

The Origins of Modern Spain. By J. B. Trend. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

It is a wonderful thing how easily, with what slight material, with what blithe aloofness to fundamental economic and social forces, writers of the type of Professor J. B. Trend of the University of Cambridge set out to interpret the modern history of an entire people in the light of a few casual biographies of some outstanding men of the recent past. Professor Trend calls his book nothing less than this: "Origins of Modern Spain." What he actually writes is a history of liberal education in Spain from the middle of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, as seen in the lives and ideas of the leaders of the *Institucion Libre* movement. Within these limits, the book is nicely written and informative, useful especially to students of academic method and thought. However, it has a grave fault: the men and movements Professor Trend writes about are presented almost completely without relation to the conditions in Spain out of which they arose. Instead the author emphasizes the influence of British and German thought on their work. As history the book is not genuinely valuable. As a study of an intellectual circle and movement, it is informative, and therefore useful for names, dates, and personalities.

Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

With a preface by President de Valera, a biographical sketch by Esther Roper, and poems and articles by Eva Gore-Booth, this volume might have been a valuable tribute to a brave and interesting woman, one of the finest personalities in modern Irish history. Constance Gore-Booth was one of the leaders of the Sinn Fein rising in 1916 and was condemned to death by court-martial, but her sentence was commuted to imprisonment. An artist herself, and the wife of a distinguished Polish artist, Count Casimir Markievicz, she was born into a well-known West of Ireland family of the utmost Union orthodoxy. In her girlhood she went through the usual routine of fashionable life, but finally renounced everything to devote herself to the cause of labor and eventually to that of Sinn Fein. When the Treaty of 1921 was signed she took her stand with de Valera and the Republican irreconcilables, and from that time on her sufferings and adventures and imprisonments were many, until her death after an operation in 1926. Such a life is a dramatic and illuminating commentary on Anglo-Irish relationships, but here it is unfortunately sketchily outlined, mixed up pointlessly with the wholly different career of her sister, Eva Gore-Booth, the charming poetess, and filled out with Madame's not very important letters from prison. A labor of love, quite clearly, the book can well call for little criticism, but it will satisfy neither the friends of Countess Markievicz nor the general public. It is a regrettable fact that, with the exception of Casement, not a single Sinn Fein leader has had a competent biographer who could do justice to the extraordinary movement and the astonishing tragedies and heroisms which it engendered.

To One Who Mourns at the Death of The Emperor. By Kimi Gengo. Pilgrim House. $2.

Kimi Gengo is a Japanese woman living now in New York. Strange as it may seem, her poetry is much better when it turns from Oriental forms or ideas to the expression of personal emotions in the precise English lyric form. If this little book proves anything, it proves that a foreign girl brought up in this country writes like other American girls. Kimi Gengo is, as a matter of fact, quite expert in writing the romantic love song. She is not, as yet, a very good poet; neither is she a bad poet. She has a certain precision of language, a certain excellence of form, which indicates that she may some day write well.

Contributors to This Issue

HAROLD J. LASKI, author of "Democracy in Crisis" and other books, is professor of political science at London University.

WALTER WILSON is the author of "Forced Labor in the United States."

CURTIS D. MACDOUGALL, formerly lecturer in journalism at the University of Wisconsin, is now on the staff of the St. Louis *Star and Times.*

GUNNAR MICKELSON is a reporter for the Milwaukee *Journal.*

COLSTON E. WARNE is associate professor of economics at Amherst. LEO HUBERMAN is the author of an American history for young people, "We, the People."

VINCENT MCHUGH, author of the novel "Sing Before Breakfast," has published verse in various periodicals.

CONSTANCE ROURKE, author of "Trumpets of Jubilee," "American Humor," and other books, directed the Michigan lumberjacks at the National Folk Festival.

LUDWIG LORE, formerly editor of the New York *Volkszeitung,* now conducts a daily column, "Behind the Cables," in the New York *Post.*

ELLIOT E. COHEN is a New York journalist.

MAXWELL S. STEWART, formerly economist on the staff of the Foreign Policy Association, is now an associate editor of *The Nation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED